









# Sambalpur University Journal

( HUMANITIES )



Vols. VI and VII

December, 1973 and 1974

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## EDITORIAL

There is an unusual gap between the publication of Volume V and this volume. This gap though unfortunate could not be avoided. Volume VI and Volume VII have been combined into one. It is hoped that the delay in publication has not made the contents stale and the quality of each article remains as fresh as it was when originally presented. We however owe an apology to the authors. We are certain that the readers will find the materials contained in this volume of a standard as high as that of the previous ones and will derive equal pleasure and satisfaction from the same.

Sd/- ( B. Behera )

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## GHOSTS : A CLOSE STUDY

DR. PRAFULLA KUMAR PATI

Professor of English, Sambalpur University, Jyoti  
Vihar, Burla, Sambalpur

Ibsen describes *Ghosts* as "a domestic tragedy." This is significant in as much as he applies the appellation "tragedy" to none of his other plays. So Ibsen's main aim in *Ghosts* is to evoke the tragic vision at the end. Through a close study of the play from the standpoint of the audience, this paper traces its progress towards this goal.

The title "Ghosts" brings to our minds the picture of shadowy, spectral, and haunting beings, who are associated with darkness. The thought of ghosts also generally produces an effect of dread and terror. So the very title of the play prepares us for something grim and awe-inspiring.

The play opens in a spacious garden-room, but "through the glass wall a gloomy fjord landscape is faintly visible veiled by steady rain." The background is thus portentous. The two characters, Engstrand and Regine, who open the play, are used for exposition, but they also help in bringing out the overtones of immorality in the world, which the play is going to depict. Engstrand's leg is somewhat bent ; he has a chip of wood under the sole of his boot. This physical deformity is a symbol of his moral obliquity ; there is a chip of wood under his soul too. From the beginning he is associated with the devil. He is dripping wet, and Regine tells him that it is devil's rain.

The play deals with the conflict between God and the Devil : it shows the good life that God gives us, and how the Devil's ghosts tempt men to spoil it. So the play opens with reference to God and the Devil. Engstrand is only too eager to take God's name, but very soon he reveals himself as an agent of the Devil, a hypocrite. His purpose is to tempt Regine to come to his sailors' home, which he calls high class. This is only an euphemism for a brothel ; he says, "After all there must be some woman in the house—that goes without saying. Se'd love to have a bit of fun in the evenings, singing and dancing—and that sort of thing. Who says you'd have to marry ? You can make it pay just the same." He even makes an oblique reference that Regine's mother made money without going into marriage. He makes sententious references to how frail we are, and how temptations are manifold in this world. Regine knows him through and through. Therefore, when he praises Pastor Manders with an assumed air of innocence, she cuts him short by saying, "What are you going to try and put over him this time" ?

Regine does not appear to be vicious like Engstrand, but expresses another side of the world of the play. She is extremely self-conscious and uses French words off and on. She is anxious to have some money at least for a new dress from Engstrand though she abhors him. Before Pastor Manders comes, she "glances at herself quickly in the mirror, fans herself with the handkerchief, and straightens her collar." The conversation of Manders with Regine is mainly expository, but here too Ibsen introduces some significant details. Manders takes much notice of Regine's health and physical growth, and this appears to tickle her vanity. She is anxious to go out into the world though not to Engstrand's home, and she even mischievously suggests that Mr. Manders must know "what it is to be all alone in the world." Pastor Manders reveals himself at first as a foolish and naive person who has been successfully deceived by Engstrand.

*Ghosts* thus begins in a low key of expository talk, and the real action of the play begins with the entry of Mrs. Alving. Before that the Pastor had a look at some new-fangled magazines lying on Mrs. Alving's table and had received a shock. Manders is complimented on being punctual as usual, and he indirectly brags about his being a chairman of so many organisations and having many committee meetings. Mrs. Alving's statement that at their age he should not hesitate to spend a night in the house appears to have an ulterior significance. As a matter of fact, Ibsen is building up suspense with ironical or suggestive dialogue.

The conversation of Manders and Mrs. Alving is an example of retrospective technique. It throws light on the past incidents and also the entire life of the persons concerned. Mrs. Alving has been looking into things deeply and facing them honestly. Pastor Manders, on the other hand, is conventional and afraid of free thinking. He persuades Mrs. Alving not to insure the orphanage (though he has insured his personal property) because others might think that "they hand't sufficient faith in Divine Providence." So he is a hypocritical clergyman. Mrs. Alving is making sincere attempts to be free from conventions, but we see that she is not completely free. She agrees that one can read or think freely in the privacy of one's room, but there is no reason to give an account of it to all and sundry.

Now comes Osvald, and "his mother's face lights up with joy". He has a pipe, and Manders says that he "thought for a moment his father came to life again." Mrs. Alving protests vehemently against this and maintains that Osvald takes after her: his mouth is sensitive and "there is something ascetic about it." This disowning of her husband's influence on her son adds to the suspense. Osvald recollects that his father had made him smoke as a child and had made him sick. Manders too says that Captain Alving was a joker in his young days, but then supports Osvald's father by saying that he has left a fine heritage. Osvald had been sent away from home ever since he was a boy, and Mrs. Alving's explanation that a strong, healthy boy

—especially an only child—should be away from home sounds very puzzling. All these add to the atmosphere of mystery. Osvald is a champion of the free and beautiful life of the artists, where there may not be marriage, but there is love. He violently condemns the “honourable men” who are hypocrites. To Pastor Manders, who is highly moralistic, this fall of Osvald is tragic. Manders’ view of tragedy is always related to moralistic or material considerations. Osvald refers to his being dreadfully tired, and by this time this has been repeated several times by different characters. Thus Ibsen keeps us in a state of suspense and then slowly and artistically clears it up.

Manders in the typical manner of a pastor and as her “spiritual adviser” tells Mrs. Alving that she neglected her duties as a wife by running away from her young husband once and had neglected her duties as a mother by sending away her son. This leads to Mrs. Alving’s first confession, which brings to light the background of the present situation. She tells him that her husband Captain Alving had remained dissolute throughout his life and had affairs with her maid. She had sent away her son as she did not want her son to know this about his father. She had tried to keep up an ideal picture of his father in Osvald’s eyes. She was building this orphanage in the Captain’s name, so the truth about her husband might not be known. She had married him for his fortune only and she was investing the whole of the Captain’s fortune on this orphanage so that Osvald might not inherit anything whatsoever from his father. Mrs. Alving is so sure of all the precautions she has taken to bury the evil inheritance of her husband that she confidently says, “And from tomorrow on, I shall be free at last—the long hideous farce will be over—I shall forget that such a person as Alving ever lived in this house—There’ll be no one here but my son and me.” But, as if in answer to her self-assurance, comes the noise from the dining room—Regine’s voice in a sharp whisper : “Osvald ; are you mad ? Let me go” —and Mrs. Alving’s castle of illusions receives its first blast. The ghosts of Captain Alving and her Maid have come to life again. The drama takes its first big step towards a tragic development.

Act II opens in the same room. The landscape is shrouded in rain and mist. The gloom and mystery are still as strong as before though to Mrs. Alving “it has cleared up a little.” She still clings to her illusion—“It’s just a foolish whim on Osvald’s part—I am sure of that.” But her vision gets clearer. She realises that her marriage to Captain Alving, a loose man, for money and without love was the same as Engstrand’s marriage to the Maid, a loose woman. She begins to realise that the talk of law and order causes all suffering in the world. She must work her way through to freedom. She should not have been deterred by hypocritical conventions and should not have sacrificed “truth” to “ideals”. She had been all through a coward and afraid of public opinion. She should never have lied to

Osvald. She is still a coward ; otherwise she should agree to the marriage of Osvald and Regine. And then she makes her bitter observation on ghosts, which contains the essence of the play :

Mrs. Alving : I'll tell you what I mean by that ; I live in constant fear and terror, because I can't rid myself of all these ghosts that haunt me.

Manders ; Ghosts, you say ?

Mrs. Alving : Yes—Just now, when I heard Regine and Osvald in there—I<sup>xx</sup> felt hemmed in by ghosts—you know, Manders, the longer I live the more convinced I am that we're all haunted in this world—not only by things we inherit from our parents—but by the ghosts of innumerable old prejudices and beliefs—half-forgotten cruelties and betrayals—we may not even be aware of them—but they're there just the same—and we can't get rid of them. The whole world is haunted by these ghosts of the dead past ; you have only to pick up a newspaper to see them weaving in and out between the lines—Ah ! if we only had the courage to sweep them all out and let in the light !

Thus the concept of ghosts, which is the basis of the play, becomes clearer. The ghosts are not merely what we inherit, but our own sins—our omissions and commissions, which we are afraid to bring to light. Mrs. Alving's experiences now come to assume a universal significance, and we begin to look back at our past to find out whether we are haunted by ghosts too. Mrs. Alving thus voices the thoughts of the whole humanity. Her ghosts were created for her when she married for money. Then she went to Manders, whom she loved, and Manders told her about her duty and rejected her. After this she came back to her husband to sit out and battle with ghosts—the ghosts within herself and those all around her. Manders too by rejecting love has become a ghost, dead and artificial.

At this point comes hypocritical Engstrand "in his sunday clothes." He confirms that Regine was not his daughter and that he had not told the pastor about it as he did not wish to brag. Manders believes it, and Mrs. Alving can only say that Manders was a great big baby. Mrs. Alving has attained self-realisation to a high degree, but fate has still more horrors in store for her. Osvald continues to drink heavily and complains about "the gloomy weather—never a ray of sunshine." When the twilight is falling gradually, he puts out his cigar (the symbol which associates him strongly with his father) comes to his mother, and then begins the first phase of his shocking confessions. Now we have the explanation why he has been tired all the while. He has had syphilis, and the doctor had told him, "The sins

of the father are visited upon the children.” This statement of the doctor, echoing the words of the Old Testament, comes to have not merely a physical significance but also a spiritual significance. Mrs. Alving had however created in his mind the illusion that his father had been an ideal person. So he starts to blame himself for his irresponsibility, which nipped his hopes and prospects as an artist in the bud. It is dark outside in keeping with the darkness in the minds of the characters. Mrs. Alving still does not have the courage to tell him the truth about his father. Then comes another blow. Osvald says that he must have Regine—only she can save him. To him she is the joy of life. In the outside world he had joy of life and as a painter he had joy of work. So he must go away with Regine from the ugliness of home.

Mrs. Alving has now a realisation of the “whole pattern.” Her last attempt at concealing the truth has failed, and fate has driven her back to the wall. She feels that she can now tell the whole truth at last, and “nobody’s ideals will be the worse for it.” As if to confirm that anything built on the foundation of falsehood is sure to be destroyed, the orphanage which Mrs. Alving has built so that others may not know the truth about Captain Alving, catches fire. Manders exclaims, “It is a judgment, Mrs. Alving—a judgment on this house”; and Mrs. Alving replies, “Yes—undoubtedly, Manders.” This accident at this critical point leaves a distinct suggestion that fate is working relentlessly to bring about the consequences of the action of Alving’s family.

The last Act opens in the room as before. It is dark out of doors. A lamp is relieving the darkness in the room, and there is a faint glow from the fire. Truth is gradually emerging from the darkness. The ghosts are receding but not before exacting a heavy price from the persons, who had been haunted by them. Mrs. Alving in this Act is a different person altogether. Her fear is gone. She has now the full realisation of the truth. She says, “It’s all for the best; that poor orphanage could never have brought good to anyone.” When Manders describes it as a great tragedy, she says, “Nonsense.” She is now concerned vitally with the tragedy of her life, of which Manders is completely unaware. Engstrand, who, as a cunning man, knows how to fish in troubled waters, succeeds in blackmailing Manders. By an irony of fate Captain Alving’s money is now to be spent for his sailors’ home to be named ‘Captain Alving’s Haven.’ When Engstrand tells Regine, “You’d better come with me, hussy; You’ll live like a Queen,” he appears to be the tempting Devil himself, and we are reminded of the opening lines of the play. Mrs. Alving now has the realisation of her original responsibility. She had been taught of only “duties”, as a girl whereas Captain Alving as a young man needed “joy of life.” Mrs. Alving did not give the happiness he sought; nor did he get a congenial atmosphere at home. So he was driven to a dissolute life. Mrs. Alving is now able to get over her

illusions about herself and in order to cure them of their illusions decides to reveal the whole truth : Regine was the daughter of Captain Alving through the maid and she is thus Osvald's half-sister.

But fate appears to be inexorable. The wheel must come full circle. Though Mrs. Alving has now nothing to gain by way of self-realisation, she has to pass through the full course of suffering. Regine, now coming to know that her mother was that sort of woman, becomes bitter, reacts violently against Mrs. Alving for denying her, her birthright, and in a mood of desperation decides to go to Captain Alving's Haven. Thus by an irony of fate the life of Captain Alving's daughter is destined to be abused in the tavern for which the Captain's money is going to be spent. Mrs. Alving was hoping to free Osvald from a sense of guilt by her confession. She also wanted him to take a charitable view of his father. But Osvald is now concerned with his tragedy as Mrs. Alving, with hers. He dismisses love for father as "one of those old-fashioned illusions people go on clinging to—in other words—ghosts." Mrs. Alving's last hope now is to nurse Osvald and win back his affection. She is anxious to make reparations for her guilt in the past. She thinks that she has made all possible amends for her lapses by revealing the whole truth and by making herself primarily responsible for the wildness of Captain Alving and all other consequences. But this is not to happen ; fate must extract its due from her. Osvald tells her that he had once a paralytic stroke and now he is waiting for another in terror. The second stroke—the softening of the brain—will make him a complete imbecile. He does not mean to live in such death-in-life condition. So he urges Mrs. Alving to administer morphine tablets to him. The mother after an intense struggle agrees to this, but there is still a lingering hope in her that such a dreadful eventuality will not come to pass.

Fate at last demands its pound of flesh—its complete retribution. Day breaks. The sun rises. The glaciers and peaks in the background are bathed in the bright morning light. Mrs. Alving is happy that it is bright now and asks Osvald to look at the bright sun. But it is as if nature is mocking her because, when nature is at its brightest, the tragedy of Mrs. Alving reaches its darkest point. Osvald with his back to the view says, "Mother, give me the sun." To her words of love, shrieks, and screams he only replies, "The Sun—The Sun"! We are struck by a sense of terror at the relentless decree of fate, and our pity goes out wholly to Mrs. Alving, when she stands in a tragic dilemma—whether to administer the tablets to Osvald or not. Her admirable struggle with ghosts has not been able to save her from the tragic catastrophe. When the curtain falls, Osvald, immovable as before, repeats, "The Sun—The Sun." Though the invalid has no sense to judge it, the dramatist suggests that death is now the only sun for him, for it will relieve him from the darkness of his life. The play ends on a puzzling note of suspense as to whether Mrs. Alving did take the life of Osvald or not,

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but there is no doubt of the extreme nature of her tragic suffering either way. Fate places her in such a critical situation that there is no possibility for escape from suffering.

Critics of Ibsen have seen in *Ghosts* close similarity to the Greek tragedy, more particularly to the *Oresteian Trilogy* of Aeschylus and *Oedipus Rex* of Sophocles. To quote a few, John Gassner says, "The poet in Ibsen transmutes the simple ideas of heredity into the Nemesis of Fate of Greek tragedy." He also says, "Osvald's hereditary disease is virtually the domestic Ate of the Alving." Allardyce Nicoll says, "Here Ibsen wrought his modern theme to the pattern of the Greek tragedy." D. C. Stuarts says, "Ghosts recalls *Oedipus Rex* in the fact that Ibsen has chosen as a point of attack the moment when the past must be disclosed and when the modern Nemesis—heredity—is about to descend upon its victim." In the *Oresteian Trilogy* Aeschylus traces the course of the curse of fate through generations on the house of Atreus. In *Ghosts* heredity is traced through two generations of the house of Alving. Fate to Aeschylus is a law which must punish sin and crime. Here also heredity exacts its full punishment for the ghosts in the mind of Mrs. Alving. The curse operates in Aeschylus by causing in the members of the family a predisposition to crime, but the agents are free. For instance, when the spirit of Clytaemnestra tries to defend her action by saying that she was directed by Furies, the Chorus challenges her. In *Ghosts* the idea of personal responsibility is emphasised far more strongly. Ibsen remarked, "To marry for external reasons, even if they be religious or moral, brings Nemesis on the progeny." Halvdan Khot says, "It was, from the first, this sin of the mother's which avenged itself... The starting point for Ibsen was not at all the medical fact, but a purely ethical principle... as was always the case with him."

As in *Oedipus Rex*, the action begins in *Ghosts medias res*, and the past events are presented through the narrative method. There is reversal of action in as much as Mrs. Alving's hope that with the establishment of the orphanage she would be completely free is reversed to a series of despairs and desperations. There is recognition because, like Oedipus, Mrs. Alving becomes more clearly aware of her real condition as the action proceeds. Oedipus has the hamartia or the tragic flaw in his inability to read the working of fate, but in *Ghosts* the tragic flaw is of a more serious nature—it is the failure to think fundamentally and act honestly. Oedipus himself causes his blindness and brings about his own suffering, but in *Ghosts* Mrs. Alving carries on till the end her struggle to save herself by her honest thinking and confession. Ibsen also observes the classical unities of action, time, and place very strictly not only in *Ghosts* but in many of his plays. *Ghosts* derives much of its concentrated tragic effect from this technique. The action in *Ghosts* taking place in the same room steadily leads to the tragic catastrophe without any distraction.

Greek tragedies dealt with high personages of illustrious families. A Shakespearean tragedy also "may be called a story of exceptional calamity leading to the death of a man in high estate." (Bradley) But *Ghosts* deals with the life of middle class people. Ibsen endows these characters with representative capacity. They stand for the people of the contemporary society and have universal significance. Nothing happens to the Alving family which may not happen to many other families. Thus the action and the characters in *Ghosts* are individuals as well as representative of the happenings and people of the society. We have a feeling when we watch *Ghosts* that "there, but for the grace of God, go you or I". Ibsen calls *Ghosts* a domestic tragedy. The drama depicts the lives of the characters through their personal and domestic relationships. We feel directly moved because we live, move, and have our being mostly in the world of personal and domestic relationships. The action in *Ghosts* is almost wholly psychological and internal. There is a spectacular happening, i.e., the burning of the orphanage, but this happens off the stage. The action mostly moves through dialogue and psychological reactions. Ibsen is very much concerned with the inner life of man because it is what regulates human action. There is no villain in the Alving-Osvald story, and, as Meredith would have said, "In tragic life, God wot no villain need be. We are betrayed by what is false within."

The tragedy is effective at several levels. The main character is of course Mrs. Alving, and it is her tragedy, which occupies the centre of the stage. But Osvald too is not a secondary character to his mother, but a person in his own right. He was a painter with joy of life and joy of work. What can be more tragic than when such a life is nipped in the bud. Ibsen leaves a delicate suggestion that by his gay and free life, which was perhaps too much for his strength, he precipitated his tragic end. Regine is also a tragic figure. Born as the daughter of a gentleman she had to work as a maid, and then the force of events led her to a disreputable house. The life of Manders is one of tragic wastefulness. He rejected love and life and became dead and conventional. He even lost the awareness of the value of what he had lost.

It is said by some critics that *Ghosts* leaves a depressing effect. This is a serious charge, because, if this were true, *Ghosts* would not be a tragedy in the real sense of the term. If we analyse the effect of *Ghosts* on us, we can see that the charge is wrong. *Ghosts* produces an effect of catharsis, the purgation of pity and terror through pity and terror; the play moves us to pity at the suffering of the characters and terror at the relentless working of Fate, but our minds are prayed when we realise that all these characters are responsible for their own tragedies. Moreover, the continuous and consistent effort made by Mrs. Alving to free herself from ghosts rouses our admiration. We see something

of the glory of human life in her struggle. The ghosts which cause the tragedy in the play are creations of our own minds. If we can bring them to the light of truth and reason, they will be dispelled. We, therefore, realise that a tragedy is caused only when the human mind does not utilise its potentialities, or uses its powers in the wrong direction. The darkness of this tragedy caused by human errors suggests that the human mind working rightly can achieve miracles. When there is fatalism in a play, it produces a depressing effect. When the emphasis is on human conduct, as in *Ghosts*, there are always hope and faith.

Fergusson in his brilliant analysis of *Ghosts* ("The plot of Ghosts : Thesis, Thriller, and Tragedy") admits that in *Ghosts* there is tragedy behind the thesis, but says :

At the end of the play the tragic rhythm of Mrs. Alving's quest is not so much complete as brutally truncated, in obedience to the requirements of the thesis and the thriller. Osvald's collapse, before our eyes, with his mother's screaming, makes the intrigue end with a bang, and hammers home the thesis. But from the point of view of Mrs. Alving's tragic quest as we have seen it develop through the rest of the play, this conclusion concludes nothing ; it is merely sensational.

Fergusson is justified in saying that the conclusion does not add anything to the self-realisation of Mrs. Alving. But the conclusion certainly adds something to her tragic suffering and takes away from her the least hope of escaping from the tragic fate. The conclusion cannot be said to be sensational. Ibsen makes legitimate use of a dramatic situation naturally evolving from the play for depicting the tragedy of human suffering.

The language of *Ghosts* contributes a good deal to the creation of the tragic vision. There are innumerable instances of the use of tragic or dramatic irony in the dialogue. When Regine says that she was treated almost like one of the family, or when Osvald says :—"Everything will be burnt. Father's memory will be wiped out. I shall soon be burnt too"—the speeches are full of deeper significance. Even in intellectual discussions the dialogue is illuminated by the glow of tragic feeling, such as :

Mrs. Alving : (at the window) : All the talk about law and order ! I often think all the suffering in the world is due to that.

Manders : That is a very wicked whining to say, Mrs. Alving.

Mrs. Alving : That may be ; but I will not be bound by these responsibilities, these hypocritical conventions any longer—I simply cannot. I must work my way through to freedom.

In many places the language rises to lyrical and poetic beauty, which in the particular context produces a tragic reaction :

Mrs. Alving : I'll spoil you as I did when you were a tiny little boy —you shall have everything you want. There ! The attack's over now....And it's going to be such a lovely day, Osvald. Bright sunshine !

When Osvald describes his pictures :

Osvald : You must have noticed, Mother, everything I paint is filled with this joy of life ; always and forever the joy of life ! My paintings are full of light of sunshine, of glowing happy faces.

we are filled with tragic remorse.

Lastly, the use of the stage setting and devices in *Ghosts* is highly subtle and suggestive and contributes to the tragic effect. The dark and gloomy background looming large over the action and as it were over human destiny, the rain obstructing the sun's rays, the use of darkness and light to indicate the darkness or the illumination in the minds of the characters, the use of the window to indicate freedom, the use of the cigar to suggest Captain Alving, are only a few of the many uses of subtle stage devices by Ibsen, who was not only a great poet and dramatist but a great craftsman too.

Thus we find that Ibsen's tragic vision as revealed in *Ghosts* owes something to the tradition of tragedy, something to the milieu and the moment, but is mainly the expression of his own individual genius. The elements which made *Ghosts* originally such a disturbing and well-known play, its discussion of what were considered as taboos, have ceased to be of interest today, but *Ghosts* still retains its appeal because its embodies the tragic vision of a great dramatist.

## WATER RESOURCES LAW

SHRADDHAKAR SUPAKAR

361 million square kilometres of the surface of the earth is covered by the world oceans and seas. Only 29.2 per cent of the surface of the earth is land. The total volume of sea water is about 1,370 million cubic kilometres. The water resources of the world is apparently unlimited from the human economist view point. But since practically the whole volume of sea water is saline and we do not know an economic and commercial method of large scale desalination, sea water is not of much practical use for man for drinking, cooking, industrial use and similar purposes.

For men and animals and plants river water and underground water is much more useful and valuable. The amount of fresh water that man actually uses is only 0.3 per cent of the hydrosphere. Out of this, river water is only 0.001 per cent of the total with a volume of 12 thousand cubic kilometres.

With the rapid growth of the population of the world and an enormous growth rate of industries involving the pollution of water and air, ecologists apprehend that in near future world water famine may threaten mankind. This problem needs elucidation and seeks a rational and scientific solution. Hence also arises the need of legislation for conservation of water resources of the world.

Books of hygiene tell us that about 75% of human body weight consists of water. According to Dr. Y. S. Bedi, the minimum daily requirement of water for a human being is 30 gallons or about 136.38 litres. Man has to find water, not merely for his drinking, bathing, cooking, washing but also to meet the needs of the domestic animals. The need for about 56 crores of people of India and for about 380 crores of people of the world is considerable. It is estimated that by the end of the century, this figure of the present population of the world will be doubled. A Soviet expert has estimated the present need of the present world population to be 190 cubic kilometres annually. This figure is likely to be doubled before the close of the twentieth century.

The distribution of the water of the world is not however even or equitable. We cannot make our calculation on the basis of averages; whereas in the deserts of Sahara, Thar, Gobi or Kalahari the supply of water is extremely scanty; much water must run out waste in places like Cherrapunji and other places blessed with heavy rainfall. In a

place like Port Blair, surrounded on three sides by huge expanse of sea water, drinking water is practically as scarce as in the desert of Rajasthan. There is, therefore, the need of economising the water resources in many parts of the world and the need for improving the water supply by scientific method.

From ancient times, great civilisations sprang up on the banks of the great rivers of the world and cities and countries were nourished by these rivers. The Babylonian civilisation on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Egyptian civilisation on the banks of the Nile, the Aryan civilisation on the bank of the Indus, the Ganga and their tributaries bear witness to this phenomenon. Pataliputra, Delhi, Rome, London, Paris, Moscow, Agra, Lahore, Calcutta, Kanpur and hundreds of other cities have developed on the banks of great rivers.

River water is the most important source of supply of fresh water. The total annual flow of all the rivers of the world is estimated to be about 41,730 cubic kilometers. The enormous economic, hygienic importance of river water has resulted in the thorough study of hydrological data of the river systems of the world.

The need of keeping the source of water supply reasonably clean has been emphasised not merely by doctors concerned with public health but also by law givers.

Manu, our ancient law giver, ordained :--

नाष्टु मूत्रं पुरीषं वा ष्ठीवतं वा विनिक्षिपेत्

अमेघ्यलिप्तमन्यद्वा लोहितं वा विपाणि वा। Manu (IV 56)

You must not throw urine, excreta, sputum, or any thing which is mixed up with things which should not be eaten, or throw blood or poison in water.

The ruins of civilisation discovered in Mahenjodaro and Harappa show a high regard for sanitation in ancient India.

For hygienic use, water must have a certain standard physical, chemical and bacteriological purity. Discharge of hot water, though otherwise pure, into a stream may kill fish therein. Therefore such discharge may amount to physical pollution. Chemical waters from industries discharged into a natural stream is chemical pollution. If the cloth of a Cholera patient is washed in a tank, it may poison the tank bacteriologically in a very short time. Indiscriminate pollution of natural streams has however gone on for centuries and even now there is little consciousness of the danger associated with such pollution. Dead bodies (of small-pox patients and others) are freely thrown into rivers.

With the growth of sewage, in cities on the banks of rivers, a large volume of sewage is discharged into the rivers and the seas. This sewage makes the water of the rivers unfit for drinking, bathing and other purposes. In most places the sewage is discharged without previous treatment to make it reasonably less harmful.

When we remember that most of the European and American nations do not use unpurified (or even purified) water for drinking and little water for bathing, and that most people living on the banks of India are obliged to use the river water for drinking, bathing and other domestic use, the necessity of strict control on the discharge of sewage and effluents into the rivers in India cannot be overemphasised. India is a hot country. Habits of the people accustom them to use a large quantity of water for drinking, bathing and other domestic use. The number of cities and towns, which provide protected water supply to the people are few. Others are always exposed to the risks associated with the use of polluted water. The risks of people living on banks of the rivers, downstream the big cities are particularly heavy.

### Sewage

In Chapter 4 of the book entitled 'Treatment and disposal of Industrial waste waters' Dr. B. A. Southgate discusses in details, 'the modern method of treatment of sewage'. It is not possible here to give even a summary of these methods. But it may be said that proper filtration and oxidation by various devices reduce the deleterious effect of these sewages before they are permitted to be discharged into the rivers. A large volume of sewage is usually of domestic origin and the sewage liquors are usually alike in strength and composition to be treated by substantially the same method at all sewage disposal works. When the Central and the State Government pass the law for prevention of water pollution, the enforcement of these laws must be followed and associated with the use of modern (and if possible a uniformly standard) method of sewage treatment, on the models of sewage disposal works of modern cities of the world.

It is estimated that urban and rural water supply systems produce at present about 65 cubic kilometres of sewages of which about 60 cubic kilometres is discharged into streams and about 5 cubic kilometres is discharged into the sea. About half of the sewage is discharged into the streams without previous treatment. For this amount (30 cubic kilometres) of sewage to be rendered reasonably harmless about 400 cubic kilometres of clean water is needed and for the treated sewage an amount of 200-240 cubic kilometres of clean water is needed. Thus about 700 cubic kilometres of clean river water is needed annually to purify all urban and rural sewage.

The above estimate does not take into account the industrial effluents. The amount of water needed and polluted for industries is colossal.

### Industrial Pollution.

In an article entitled "Which way lies hope ?" published in the "Harijan" Dated 4.10.1952 (?) Richard B. Greggs wrote :—

"Every gallon of gasolene takes 7 to 10 gallons of water for its manufacture. One ton of viscous rayon demands 2 lakh gallons of water in the process of making. To produce a ton of synthetic rubber takes three times that amount. Each ton of paper made in a modern pulp mill requires 50,000 gallons of water in the making. At the beginning of the World War II, there were about 10 million tons or more of finished paper. That means about 1/2 million gallons of water. When it comes to the mill a ton of cotton cloth requires 60,000 gallons for bleaching, 80,000 gallons in the dyeing process. The manufacture of one pound of refined white sugar calls for 7 gallons of water. 160 gallons of water are needed to make one pound of aluminium. A ton of soap needs 50,000 gallons of water to make it. When an air plane engine is tested, the cooling of it requires from 50,000 to 125,000 gallons of water (1 gallon = 4.55 litres).

Streams are polluted and poisoned by city sewage, by coal mining, oil field, food processing, paper pulp mills, steel plants, all textile industries and chemical industries. This pollution kills all fish in the streams and makes the water unfit and dangerous for any domestic and agricultural use."

Dr. M. I. Lvovich has also emphasised the dangerous consequences of industrial effluents as follows :—

"It takes 250 cubic meters of water to produce one ton of cotton fabric, one ton of man-made fibre requires between 2,500 to 5,000 cubic metres, 1,000 cubic metres of water is needed to produce 1 ton of ammonia, 2,000 cubic metres is needed to produce one ton of synthetic rubber, 4,000 cubic metres is used to smelt one ton of nickel, 3.5 cubic metres of water is used to refine one ton of crude oil."

In the process of such use, some percentage of water is irretrievably lost during the process of manufacture and the remaining portion is usually discharged into the flowing stream, like rivers, either untreated or only partially treated.

The intake of water for the above purposes is reasonably pure but the effluents contain many poisonous chemicals and deleterious substances. In paper mills for example, a noxious percentage of caustic

soda, sodium sulphate, organic matters like lignin in large volume come out as effluents. Soda recovery plant and Tomlinson plant used in modern paper mills do not make the effluents ultimately discharged into the stream sufficiently safe and innocuous. When large volumes of waste pulps are discharged into the water, fish are choked with tiny particles of the pulp and the fish die, if they did not die earlier as an effect of the caustic soda content of the effluents. The smell is offensive. Even a blind man can smell a paper mill from a very long distance. Similarly, chemical substances of deleterious nature are discharged as effluents from industries for the production of textiles, synthetic rubber, synthetic rayon and metallurgical and other industries.

It has been estimated that whereas in the year 1951, the production of paper in India was only 1 lakh ton per annum, the production of paper had gone upto  $8\frac{1}{4}$  lakh tons per annum in 1973. And yet the production of paper in India is only 0.6 per cent of paper produced in the world which is estimated to be 1,304 lakh metric tons. The present shortage of paper and newsprint in India should not however blind us to the problems arising out of paper mill effluents.

The total annual flow of all rivers of the world is estimated to be about 41,730 cubic kilometres.

A total intake of 400 cubic kilometres of water is now required annually by industrial enterprises of the world. About half of the water is recycled, out of this, 40 cubic kilometres irretrievably lost. About 200 cubic kilometres of water is drawn per annum from streams, lakes and ground waters.

None of this figure is very large compared with the available resources of about 40,000 cubic kilometres of river water. Nevertheless, factories and mills in a number of industrial regions in Europe and North America are now threatened with water shortage. This is due chiefly not to uneven distribution of water resources and industries but to the fact that the water used in the industries, particularly in chemical works and paper and pulp mills becomes so polluted that treatment is not always effective. The result is that about 160 cubic kilometres of industrial waste waters is dumped into the streams, contaminating at least 2,000 cubic kilometres of natural river water.

Since much less than all waste water is cleansed and treated before being poured out in the streams, actual river pollution is still greater. At least 4,000 cubic kilometres of river water is polluted annually. This is more than 10 per cent of the stream flows of all

the world's rivers and about 25% of the stream flows of the rivers in the highly industrialised regions of the world.

Earlier, it has been said that the world population is likely to be doubled in the next 30 years. The sewage will naturally increase nearly twofold. Industrial development has also been growing at a very fast rate more so in the hitherto undeveloped regions of the world. Dr. Lvovich has estimated that in the next three decades, the world may see a 14-fold industrial growth compared with the industrial production of to-day. If to-day, 10-25 per cent of river water of the world is polluted, what would be the fate of world population if the 15-fold industrial growth results in the 15-fold pollution of the world's total resources of the fresh water? The prospect is very bleak. The world rivers or most of the rivers of the industrially developed countries are likely to be reduced to sewage.

If the practice of discharging a significant part of the used water into rivers is continued, the most conservative estimates showing that more than 6 thousand cubic kilometres of waste water could contaminate annually at least 38,000 cubic kilometres of river water even after treatment by better methods than are now used. This would practically exhaust all the water resources of the world's rivers (estimated at 41,000 cubic kilometres). The total availability of fresh water may operate as a limiting factor to the growth of population and the expansion of industry.

### Irrigation

Water is used not merely for industrial purposes but also for irrigation. Crop production is a gamble on rainfall in regions without assured irrigation. With the ever growing population of the world, the need for growing more food from limited area of cultivated and cultivable area of land irrigated will have to be increased.

It is estimated that between 12,000 to 14,000 cubic metres of water is necessary to irrigate one hectare of land. Two thousand and five hundred cubic kilometres is taken out annually from streams, and ground water for irrigation. This is more than six per cent of the world's total annual river discharge. Of course, about 600 cubic kilometres out of this water is again discharged into the rivers.

In India, we have yet to build up an efficient system of irrigation for the purpose of making the optimum use of water in all irrigated areas. Water logging in many irrigated areas leads to salination and production of less crop. Proper drainage must therefore be provided along with irrigation.

India is a developing nation. Our industries are not well developed. There is hardly any consciousness among the authorities of our country about the need of proper treatment of industrial effluent and sewage before they are discharged into the rivers. In North India where the rivers have perennial flow, the problem of water supply to villages situated down stream of big cities is not so acute as in South India where most of the rivers practically dry up in summer. This leaves the sewage and industrial effluents, which are discharged into the rivers in a more concentrated form. Hence when the need of water is the greatest in summer, the suffering of lower riparian villages on account of non-availability of good water from the rivers is the maximum.

### Legislation

In the United Kingdom, a Royal Commission was set up in 1868 to investigate the problem of pollution of river water and to find out proper remedy. There is now a Water Pollution Research Board in that country under the department of Scientific and Industrial research.

The British Parliament passed the Rivers (Pollution Prevention) Act in the year 1876 and another Act of the same title in 1893. Recently in 1951, the River (Prevention of Pollution) Act was passed. Section 2 of this Act makes it punishable offence (a) to cause or knowingly permit to enter a stream any poisonous, noxious or polluting water and (b) to cause or knowingly permit to enter a stream any matter so as to tend either directly or in combination with similar acts to impede the proper flow of the water or the stream leading to a substantial aggravation of pollution due to other causes or its consequences.

Exception is however made in the case of discharge of any trade effluent or any effluent from the sewage disposal of sewage works of a local authority if :

(a) It is not reasonably practicable to dispose of the effluent otherwise than by discharging it into that or some other stream and

(b) all reasonably practicable steps are taken to prevent the effluent being unnecessarily poisonous, noxious or polluting.

The river Board is the authority which looks after the proper implementation of the above Act and for prosecuting persons guilty of violation of the Act.

In India, the Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Bill, 1973 is in the anvil of the Parliament for nearly four years by now and is likely to be finally passed in the very near future.

It purports to provide for the prevention and control of water pollution and maintaining or restoring of wholesomeness of water.

For this purpose, it provides for the establishment of a Central River Board and One River Board for each of the States of Gujarat, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, and Kerala. These States have no Law till now to seek prevention of water pollution.

Some of the States in India had earlier passed Acts to ensure reasonable purity of river water and to regulate the discharge of sewage and effluents into the rivers.

The Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Bill, 1973 defines pollution as follows :—

“Pollution” means such contamination of water or such alteration of the physical, chemical or biological properties of water or such discharge of any sewage or made effluent or of any other liquid gaseous or solid substance into water (whether directly or indirectly) as may, or is likely to, create a nuisance or render such water harmful or injurious to public health or safety or to domestic, commercial, industrial, agricultural or other legitimate uses or to the life and health of animals or plants or of aquatic organisms.

Among the powers and functions of the Central Water Board is to :

(e) Organise through mass media a comprehensive programme regarding the prevention and control of water pollution.

(f) Collect, compile and publish technical and statistical data relating to water pollution and measures devised for its effective prevention and control and prepare manuals, codes or guides relating to treatment and disposal of sewage and trade effluents and disseminate information connected therewith

(g) Lay down, modify or annul, in consultation with the State Government concerned, the standards for a stream or well.

The State Government Boards are to carry out research relating to water pollution and prevention, control or abatement thereof, and to inspect sewage and trade effluents and water and plants for treatment thereof and to lay down standard of purity for a stream or well. Samples of effluents are taken for the purpose of scientific analysis.

The Bill provides for both preventive and punitive measures for the purpose of preventing water pollution. Clauses 41 and 43 of Bill provides for imprisonment for a period of three months and or fine for the offences in contravention of the Law and for repetition of the offence.

The implementation of the provision of the Law is, however, more important than the passing of the law. In India, we find that inspite of Law prohibiting food adulteration, large scale adulteration of food articles is scandalously widespread. The implementation of the

water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act will be very difficult. The Authority must be above temptation and must possess the hearts of lions. The Water Boards and the Central and the State Governments have to strike a balance between the right of millions of extremely poor men (mostly villagers) who have a right to water, the gift of nature, in its natural quality and reasonable quantity and the claim of the industrial magnates to pollute the water in the name of industrial development of the country.

### International Rivers and Lakes

The problem of international rivers and lakes etc. call for special discussion. As we are here concerned with resources, the scope of discussion is very limited. It is fortunate that in recent years, grave concern is expressed by statesmen and lawyeas of international reputation on the problem of sciology and on the possibility of the World coming to a time when there would be world shortage of water of reasonable purity.

So far international law has not recognised any servitude corresponding to that existing in civil and common law in the form of a right to the uninterrupted flow of streams and rivers. In the celebrated case of Missouri Vs. Illinois (1906) involving a petition by Missouri seeking an injunction to prevent the discharge of sewage by the city of Chicago into a river falling into the Missisipi, the Supreme Court only posed the problem, which now threatens international public health. The Supreme Court observed "The nuisance set forth in the Bill was one which would be of international importance—a visible change of a great river from a pure stream into a polluted and poisonous ditch. The only question presented was whether as between the States and the Union, this Court was competent to deal with a situation, which if it arose between independent sovereignties, might lead to war.....It may be imagined that a nuisance might be created by a State upon a navigable river like the Danube, which would amount to a *causa belli* for a State lower down, unless removed."

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Much water have flown down the Missisipi, the Danube, and other rivers since the above observation made by the Supreme Court of U.S.A. in the above case. And now is the time, when the threat of ecological imbalance in near future should make world bodies like the United Nations Organisation and World Health Organisation to call all nations of the world to find out a suitable solution to the problem. In 1972 a conference of all nations of the world on ecology was held.

The Geneva Conventions on ameliorating the conditions of the wounded and sick in Armed Forces on land and sea of the treatment

of Prisoners of War and of General protection of Civilian persons in time of war have now been adopted as the law of land by the nations of the world. A convention to prevent and control pollution of international waters should also be called and the conclusions arrived there be adopted as law of the land by all nations of the world. The problem is acquiring greater and greater urgency with the growth of population of the world and with the rapid development of industries in all parts of the world. I hope and trust that specialists in international law and public health in India may pool their thoughts and make appropriate contribution to the world body towards the solution of the problems associated with the water resources of the world.

4.4.1974

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## TWO OBSCURE DYNASTIES OF SOUTH KOSALA

DR. N. K. SAHU, M.A., PH.D., D. LITT.

### The Rājarsitulya Kula :

The history of South Kosala after the campaigns of Samudragupta remains obscure for sometime. Fresh light is, however, thrown on this period by the Ārang Plates<sup>1</sup> of king Bhimasena dated in the Gupta year<sup>2</sup> 282 i.e. 602 A.D. which discloses a line of kings extending over six generations. The genealogy of kings recorded in this charter starts from Mahārāja Sura who is not known to us from any other sources. The genealogy is as given below :—

Mahārāja Sura  
|  
Dayita I  
|  
Bibhīṣaṇa  
|  
Bhimasena I  
|  
Dayitavarman II  
|  
Bhimasena II 602 A.D.

The dynasty to which these kings belonged is named as 'Rajarśitulya kula' which means a dynasty like that of royal ascetics. According to Hiralal<sup>3</sup> the Rajarsikula referred to in the Ārang Grant is probably the same as the Gupta ruling family as Chandragupta II is called Rājādhīrājṛi in the Udayagiri<sup>4</sup> Cave Inscription.<sup>4</sup> He remarks that "in reference to his sovereign lord, Bhimasena could not arrogate the title of Rajarṣi to his family and that seems to be the reason why he inserts the word 'Tulya' (like)".<sup>5</sup>

This opinion does not hold good as Chandragupta II who flourished two centuries before Bhimasena II cannot be called the sovereign lord of the latter, and moreover Chandragupta has never declared his dynasty as Rajarsikula in his own records. No Gupta monarchs who ruled before and after Chandragupta II are known to have regarded the dynasty as that of the royal ascetics. It may, however, be said that like the kings of the Parivrājaka family of Dabhāla, who regarded themselves as belonging to a ruling family of religious mendicants, the rulers of this dynasty attached a spiritual dignity to their lineage by declaring it as that of the royal ascetics,

Mahārāja Sura, the earliest known king of this line can be assigned to cir. 500 A.D. taking an average period of 20 years for the rule of each generation of kings. That was the time when the Imperial Guptas were fast declining and new ruling dynasties were raising their heads on the ruins of the Gupta empire. The territory over which Mahārāja Sura was ruling cannot properly be assigned but the last king Bhimasena II can be said to have possessed sovereignty over the territory comprising parts of modern Raipur and Kalahandi districts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa respectively. The Ārang Copper Plate Grant of this king was issued on the bank of the Suvarnanadi which may be identified with the river Son<sup>6</sup> flowing through Kalahandi district as a tributary of the Tel. Hiralal's<sup>7</sup> identification of it with the river Son the tributary of the Ganges cannot be accepted as that region was then under the sway of the Muakhari emperor Avantivarman. The Viṣaya called Donḍa, according to Hiralal,<sup>8</sup> is the same as the modern Dundā, 25 miles west of Ārang, the find-spot of the plates and the village Vattapallika the same as Barapāli 30 miles east of Ārang. Thus Ārang in those days included in the Donḍa district and the donees if they were residents of Ārang lived half way between the head quarters of the district and the village granted to them.

Silver coins of a king named Bhimasena bearing the peacock device of the Guptas have been brought to light<sup>9</sup> and these coins may be attributed to Bhimasena II, the issuer of the Ārang Plates. He was, no doubt, an important ruler of that region at the beginning of the 7th century A.D., but as no record of his successor is available to us it is presumed that after him the territory came under the possession of the Sarabhapuriyas.

### The Parvatadvarakas :

Almost contemporaneous with the kings of the Rājarsitulya kula and as close neighbour of them, there flourished another line of kings in the Tel river valley belonging to a family which for want of a specific name is called the Parvatadvāraka after the sacred seat of its tutelary deity Stambheshwari. The Terasinga Copper Plates<sup>10</sup> contain information about two kings of this line although the relation between them is not clearly mentioned. The first plate records on the front side the grant of Kaustubheśwari, the mother of king Sobhannarāja,<sup>11</sup> whereas the rest of the inscription on the back side of the first plate and on other two plates contain the accounts of the grant made by Mahārāja Tuṣṭikara. The palaeography of both the grants indicates a slight difference of time between Sobhannaraja and Mahārāja Tuṣṭikara and it may not be too far to suggest that these two kings represent two generations during the first half of the sixth century A.D.

The grant of the queen mother Kaustubheśwari was made at the time she was bed-ridden with high fever (Dāhajvara) and the donee was Brāhmaṇa Dronaswāmi of Kāśyapa gotra. The donated village De-bhogaka

kṣetra may be identified with modern Deobhoga in Madhya pradesh situated in the Tel valley near the border of Daramgarh subdivision of Kalahandi district.

The place called Parvatadvāra is difficult to be identified but the village named Kavāṭadvāra located in the west of Kalahandi district indicates that place names having the suffix 'dvāra' was not uncommon in that region. The grant, however, reveals nothing about Sri Sobhannarāja and it only states that he was a devotee at the feet of Stambheśwari.

The second grant was made by Sri Mahārāja Tuṣṭikara from Tarabhramaka which was very likely his capital. This place may be identified with the modern Talabhrāmara on the banks of the Tel. About two miles to the north of this place, close to the confluence of the Tel with her tributary Utei, is located Rājapadar also called Belkhandi which has yielded ruins of early medieval temples and Māṭrākā images.<sup>12</sup> Vey likely Talabhrāmara and Rājapadar were a contiguous township which served as the headquarters of Mahārāja Tuṣṭikara. The inscription represents the king as a devotee of father and mother and a devout worshipper of goddess Stambheśwari. It registers the grant of the village Prastaravāṭaka which was converted into an agrahāra in favour of Ārya Dronasarmā of Kāśyapa gotra who was probably the same as the donee of the first grant. Prastaravāṭaka may be identified with the village Patharlā in Kalahandi district.

Our knowledge about the rule of this family is confined to the only set of copper plates found at Terasinga and for want of other records it is not possible to give a detailed history of the family. Very likely this territory was occupied by Maharaja Bhimasena about 600 A.D. but nothing definite can be said about that at present.

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1. *E. I.* IP pp. 342 f.
2. Prof. V. V. Mirashi doubts the accuracy of the reading of the numerical figure 200 and is inclined to read it as 182 (*E. I.* XXVI p. 228). But the symbol for 200 is discernible in the Ārang Plates and can well be verified with the charts of Dr. Buhler as well as of Pt. Ojha. Prof. Mirashi's view that the first symbol represents 100 as the horizontal bar which is added on the right of its vertical to change it into 200, is wanting here, cannot be accepted, the horizontal bar is visible in the facsimile.
3. Hiralal, *Insc. in the C. P. & Berar*, p. 94, Note 1.
4. *C. I. I.* III p. 34.
5. Hiralal, *Op. cit.*
6. The other name of the river Son is Udit. The confluence of this river with the Tel is regarded by the local people as a place of religious sanctity (*J. K. H. S.* I pp. 98, 101).

7. Hiralal, *Op. cit.* p. 96.
8. Hiralal, *Op. cit.*
9. Cunningham, *Arch. Reports*, IX p. 26.
10. E. I. XXX pp. 274-78 also see *J. K. H. R. S.* II pp. 107-110.
11. Sri S. N. Rajguru is inclined to read the name of the queen mother as Sri Sobhini Kaustubheśvari. But Sobhannarāja as the name of the king is discernible in the Inscription.
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## CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

SHRI G. N. DAS, M. A.,

Lecturer in Economics, Department of Economics,  
Sambalpur University, Jyoti Vihar, Burla.

### I

The problem of economic development of less developed countries has received global attention in recent years. Although different development theorists have given divergent theories of economic growth yet there is complete consensus among experts on the fact that the capital accumulation is the main-spring of economic development. Thus, all the growth economists have assigned a crucial role in the process of development to capital accumulation, the main key to industrialisation programming. Characteristically, the underdeveloped countries are capital-deficient economics. "The so-called 'underdeveloped areas' as compared with the advanced are underequipped with capital in relation to their population and natural resources."<sup>1</sup> The central problem of development then is—how to increase the rate of capital accumulation—both material as well as human and thereby to accelerate the rate of economic development. The developing countries are caught in the vicious circle of poverty, a circle proceeding from low capital accumulation to low productivity to low real income to a continuation of low real capital stock and low level of real income.

The problem of real capital accumulation has two important facets—the demand for capital and the supply of capital. The demand for capital is otherwise called the inducement to invest and the supply of capital is a function of the ability and the willingness to save. Thus, capital accumulation requires an increase in the volume of real savings, and the diversion of those savings for productive investment project. In a closed economy, capital accumulation is possible through<sup>s</sup> the reduction in the present consumption. But in an open economy, besides the domestic efforts, the international trade, foreign borrowing and foreign aid can also influence the rate of capital accumulation.

### II

Capital accumulation is the key problem which fiscal policy is urgently called upon to tackle in the developing countries. Besides

accelerating the rate of capital formation fiscal policy, in the context of development planning can be used to maintain reasonable amount of economic stability and also to reduce inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth.

Let us first discuss the supply aspect of the problem of capital accumulation in a developing economy. An underdeveloped economy suffers from an extremely low level of income and the propensity to consume out of this income is very high. Thus, volume of savings is meagre. This meagre saving is very often erased by the "demonstration effect"<sup>2</sup> of the high consumption standards of rich countries. Even worse, a considerable part of these meagre savings is diverted into the real estate and inventory speculation and the holdings of precious metals, currency and foreign exchange.<sup>3</sup> Savings, in a developing economy, may be of two types—voluntary and involuntary. Voluntary savings come through the voluntary reductions in the present consumption out of the current disposable income. These voluntary savings may come either from the household sector or from the business sector. But the magnitude of the voluntary savings is very low due to the above mentioned reasons.

Since the volume of voluntary savings is limited, the question arises as to what fiscal policy can contribute and how should it be conducted to contribute to increase the rate of capital accumulation in a developing economy. Involuntary savings are brought about through the involuntary reductions in consumption. The best fiscal tool of generating such savings is the taxation. Taxation for the purpose may be either direct or indirect. Both the direct and indirect taxes are levied with a view to siphoning off a part of the current income of the public to increase the volume of collective savings. The distinction between the direct and indirect taxes is often hazy and difficult to make; but the distinction has been accepted as a matter of usage, convention and administrative feasibility. Compared to direct taxes, indirect taxes in a developing economy, are more suitable and practical because they are difficult to evade and relatively easy to collect. Thus, a developmental tax policy should be structured in such a way that it will seek out and impound incomes which otherwise would have been squandered on conspicuous consumption and luxury imports from advanced countries. With the desire of the rich for conspicuous consumption and the government's desire to augment its tax revenue as a percentage of the national income, progressive commodity taxes can perform the valuable dual role of discouraging the consumption of luxury goods and increasing the elasticity of tax revenue. If the government imposes progressive commodity taxes on certain selective goods particularly the luxury goods the prices of

wage-goods would not be affected. It would not affect the consumption standards of poor persons. Since the luxury goods have a very high import-content, the taxes on luxury commodities would not only reduce the consumption of luxury goods it would also save the scarce foreign exchange which would otherwise have been dissipated. Thus, to some extent, the indirect taxes can reduce the strain on the country's balance of payments. Indirect taxes are criticised mainly on the grounds of their regressivity and inequity.

Since agriculture happens to be the largest sector in a developing economy, the tax policy is to be tailored to tap the agricultural surplus to finance the developmental investment projects. It may be possible to tax the agricultural sector by imposing stiff land tax. Japan, in the early phase of her economic development in the late 19th century imposed stiff land tax (which brought in about four-fifths of total government revenue) to mobilise the agricultural surplus for capital formation. Soviet Russia achieved the same objective by introducing a system of collective farming. Kaldor says, "The taxation of agriculture, by one means or another, has a critical role to play in the acceleration of economic development since it is only the imposition of compulsory levies on the agricultural sector itself which enlarges the supply of "savings" in the required sense for economic development. Countries as different in their social institutions or economic circumstances as Japan and Soviet Russia have been similar in their dependence on heavy agricultural taxation for financing their economic development."<sup>4</sup> Bruce F. Johnston in his article<sup>5</sup> says that the traditional land tax was the device which was used in Japan to divert a part of the increment in productivity in agriculture into the investment projects of the government.

The ideal tax system for the agricultural sector is one which will not only extract any surplus that is available but which will also provide incentive to producers to produce more. One possibility might be to impose a tax on potential productivity of land to check the wastage of good land and to encourage improved methods of cultivation. For the purpose, the country may be divided into a number of homogeneous crop-zones, on the basis of the soil, climate, and irrigation availability. For each of such zones, the average productivity for each crop may be assessed on the basis of sample survey. For a particular year under consideration for which the tax has to be levied on the basis of crop-cutting experiment the average productivity may be adjusted for the changes specific to the year. This average productivity can be taken as the actual productivity for all farms for purposes of calculating the incomes. This insures that farms

having productivity below the average are penalized while the farms above the productivity are provided with incentives.

In the light of the above discussion we can state that the primary objective of tax policy in a developing economy, should be to raise the ratio of savings to national income. In the absence of adequate amount of voluntary savings if more savings could be generated, through taxation, then those savings could be used for productive investment projects undertaken by the government.

### III

Governments of many developing countries resort to deficit financing when they find it politically difficult to mobilise saving through taxation. Deficit financing at less than full-employment can generate savings by activating the unemployed factor resources. An increase in the real output if and only if the marginal propensity to consume out of the additional income generated is less than one. But if the government resorts to deficit financing after the full-employment the inflation will be the consequence. Of course, in developing economies inflation appears even before full-employment due to various bottlenecks and structural rigidities in these economies.

Let us discuss the effect of inflation on capital accumulation. Capital formation is possible from real savings. Real savings can be enlarged by reducing the current consumption. This can be done by imposing taxes which affect some group of persons or by levying an overall tax on all commodities and hence unevenly distributing the burden over the income classes. The latter effect results from inflation.

Inflation is the engine of forced savings. Inflation leads to rise in prices. When prices of commodities rise wages react, prices of commodities rise further and once again wages react. But wages react with a time lag to increased prices. In the process a part of the real income of wage-earners and fixed income groups is diverted to the formers. The total saving is increased. This is often referred to as the "forced saving". "An inflation induced redistribution of real income in favour of variable income groups against fixed income groups may strengthen the former's saving habits more than it weakens the latter's saving habits. This means that the marginal propensity to save out of variable income becomes larger than that of fixed-income, in consequence of inflation induced redistributions. Given such differential marginal propensities to save it can easily be shown that each inflation induced redistribution of real income will increase the average propensity to save for the economy as a whole".

Inflation generates forced saving and factor resources are forcibly released for the investment purposes. Thus, the real saving which is essential for increased investment is extracted from the consuming public through inflation. Prof. Strigl has objected to this theory of forced saving that of those with relatively fixed incomes get less and are obliged to restrict consumption, others expand their incomes to a corresponding amount and unless they refrain voluntarily from expanding consumption to the required extent, there cannot be a net increase in capital formation. In otherwords, there is not forced saving, but only ordinary voluntary saving.<sup>7</sup>

There can be no dispute about the fact that resource shifts are an integral part of capital accumulation process and development. Although inflation has an invigorating effect on resource shifts and capital accumulation, yet this is a costly and inequitable way of transferring resources from consumption to capital accumulation. First, inflation by affecting the distribution of income and wealth increases rather than decreases the inequalities. In otherwords, inflation makes the poor poorer and the rich richer. Inflation by adversely affecting the consumption standards of poor classes, may decrease the productive capacity of labour unless the increased capital intensity in production compensates this decline. The transference of income from the poor to the rich through inflation is a wasteful form of forced saving because the rich may consume some of the extra income coming to them and not to save all of it. Hence, it is better to tax the poor and invest the proceeds without the intermediary of the rich. Secondly, inflation tends to generate a deficit disequilibrium in the country's balance of payments unless the government takes immediate steps in restricting the undesirable imports, imports will tend to expand and the country's international liquidity reserves are depleted, if it has some reserves at all. Thirdly, inflation is self-defeating if it discourages the voluntary private savings which provide the basic foundation for economic development. Fourthly, inflation has an unfavourable effect on government economy. Lastly, inflation encourages investment in socially unproductive undertaking like real estates, inventories, jewellery and foreign exchange, etc. Thus, inflation diverts the real resources to less productive uses. In the light of the foregoing discussion it may be pointed out—

"Inflation holds particular dangers for underdeveloped countries.... Inflation encourages the speculative and unessential transactions which are major obstacles to economic development, discourages domestic savings as well as foreign investment, disrupts foreign trade relations, and lowers the general efficiency of production".<sup>8</sup> But inspite of its defect if inflation is the only available alternative to persistent

stagnation then it should resorted to. India has reached a stage where the use of deficit financing is to be completely stopped. If the government of India resorts to deficit financing as in the past, then it would certainly create a situation of hyper-inflation which would distort the process of development.

Nurkse<sup>9</sup> has discussed in detail the potential sources of capital supply (savings) in underdeveloped countries. Potential savings may exist in the disguised unemployment or in conspicuous consumption of the rich or in the favourable terms of trade. The problem is how to mobilise these saving potentials for capital accumulation. The effective mobilisation of these saving potentials requires complementary action on the home front.

The experts of public finance in underdeveloped economy have widely agreed to the fact that in order to increase the rate of capital accumulation it is necessary to increase the proportion of savings and investment to national product. The fundamental objective of tax policy therefore, is to increase the propensity to save and to reduce the propensity to consume. Saving by itself cannot accelerate the rate of capital accumulation. For saving to lead to capital accumulation productive investment must take place.<sup>10</sup> Nurkse says, "I believe that public finance assumes a new significance in the face of the problem of capital formation in underdeveloped countries."<sup>10</sup> The underdeveloped countries do not suffer as much from a low propensity to save as much from a low inducement to invest. As Keynes has pointed out : "There has been a chronic tendency throughout human history for the propensity to save to be stronger than the inducement to invest. The investment has been at all times the key to the economic problem. The desire of the individual to augment his personal wealth by abstaining from consumption has usually been stronger than the inducement to the entrepreneur to augment the national wealth by employing labour on the construction of durable assets."<sup>11</sup>

It seems paradoxical to say that demand for capital is low in a developing country. But this unwillingness to invest stems from low incomes, limited size of the market, lack of infrastructural facilities and risks and uncertainties involved. The vicious circle also operates in the case of the demand side of the capital accumulation. Now the question is how this circle can be broken ? This circle on the demand side can be broken by raising the marginal productivity of private investment. The investments which create external economies will help to achieve this objective. The important type of external economies arise from the establishment of economic and social overheads like the laying down of the railway lines, construction of roads and highways, ports, schools,

hospitals and libraries etc. Once these infrastructural facilities are created, the entrepreneurs take them for granted and they are, to some extent, induced to undertake investment projects. But private capital do not flow in to the overhead capital projects due to the following reasons :—

1. Firstly, investment in these fields are lumpy in character.
2. Secondly, returns from these investments may be too remote.
3. Thirdly, the benefits from these investments accrue not to the persons responsible for investing resources there.

Thus, the government of a developing country is required to play a significant role in providing the economic and social overhead capital. Thus, investment in these fields is the direct responsibility of the government. Sometimes the government in a developing country raises funds through taxation to be loaned to the private entrepreneurs. Besides, the government through its fiscal policy influences the pattern of private investment. Fiscal policy in a developing country should penalize the diversion of savings for socially undesirable investments on speculative gains and grant tax concessions to socially productive investment projects. Now the "tax policy faces a basic dilemma in its role as an instrument of capital formation for economic development. On the one hand, high levels of taxes are necessary to finance that part of the developmental process which falls on the government side. On the other hand, the lower the taxes the greater will be the inducement to private investors..... The dilemma is worsened by the fact that those taxes which are most effective in capturing a large share of the gains from economic development for further capital formation are the ones most likely to affect the returns from private investment. Only way out of the dilemma may be to combine high rates of taxation in general with preferential treatment for categories of desired developmental activity."<sup>10</sup>

## V

Since capital accumulation is the main key to economic development the economic policies of a developing country are to be geared to accelerate the rate of capital accumulation. In other words, if a developing economy is not to stagnate at low level of capital stock and low level of income, then the government is required to play a positive and dynamic role. By enlarging the productive capacity of the economy, capital accumulation permits increased productivity which may be accepted as the main engine of economic development.

Underdevelopment, the poverty of nations, is not a permanent fact. Higher rates of savings and investment are not impossible to achieve in

a developing economy. Hence, the economic development can be stimulated, brought into being and sustained by the deliberate governmental intervention.

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## ATTITUDES OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' TO NON-VIOLENCE AND PEACE

SMT. AMRIT NIKORE,

Department of Psychology,

S. K. D. A. V. College for Women, ROURKELA - 6.

### Synopsis

(The present study is made to understand the psychological make up, beliefs and attitudes of university students towards non-violence and peace. It is found that non-violence is perceived to be the best philosophy and provide a just social order. Non-violence is strongly favoured at ideological level but rejected at empirical policy level. More extensive work is needed to corroborate the findings.)

Recent scientific and technological advances have reinforced the need for peace and harmonious living in many countries of the world. Findings of some recent socio-psychological studies have revealed a general tendency among various nations to cherish humanitarian values. Evans (1958) investigated attitudes of disarmament citizen inspection and factors related to these in India, Japan, W. Germany and United States. It was observed that the majority in each country was in favour of disarmament and held that it should be the duty of citizens in any country to report violation. Kilpatrick & Cantril (1960) reported that peace was the national aspiration of most of the Japanese, Germans and Americans. Ojha (1966) undertaking a cross national survey of what people think about world problems such as universal brotherhood, third world war etc. observed that a desire to live together at peace with one another, a sense of universal good will or humanitarian attitude is emerging among people in most of the countries.

In a study of attitudes of the youth by the world Assembly (1960-61)<sup>1</sup> it was reported that the Indian youth favours an attitude of give and take and shows concern for welfare of mankind, justice, love, happiness, and truth. Singh et al (1962)<sup>2</sup> reported that the Chinese and Indian students revealed more society-centred orientations and show more concern for other people. In contrast to American students, they give more emphasis to sympathy, love, affection, mutual help and family bond, resulting in sympathetic and sacrificing attitudes.

Some important findings of an empirical study of Elites, Non-elites and students in India, Nepal and Cylon as reported by T. K. N. Unnithan and Yogendra Singh (1969)<sup>3</sup> are :

1. Social policy of non-violence is identified with policies of radical and moderate socialism by the Elites, non-elites and students in India.

2. The elites, non-elites and students in India reveal optimism regarding the possibility of resolving intergroup disputes through peaceful means. The elites are also optimistic regarding the trend of social policy which they think is contributing significantly towards the development of non-violent society.

In the light of above studies and the fact that much of the contemporary national thinking in our country has been influenced by peaceful strivings and non-violence, it was thought it would be interesting to see how does the younger generation feel about these ideals.

#### Purpose of the study :

The aspiration for world peace and desire for harmonious living will be fulfilled if the younger generation reveals a positive attitude towards these ideals. The present investigation was, therefore, undertaken to study the mental make up, beliefs and attitudes of university students towards non-violence and peace. It was also assumed that students from different social backgrounds will differ in their attitudes. The purpose can therefore be specifically stated as

1. To understand the concept of non-violence as perceived by University students.
2. To assess their attitudes towards non-violence and peace.
3. To test the hypothesis that social background is intimately related to attitudes and University students will differ significantly in their attitudes with regard to sex, socio-economic level, educational background and occupational preferences.

#### Method of Investigation :

Unstructured interview followed by a questionnaire was used as the method of investigation. The responses obtained in interview were analysed in terms of its contents with a view to get a clear picture of latent feelings, beliefs and attitudes. Verbal responses thus obtained were classified into well-defined categories as favourable, undecided and unfavourable. Favourable attitude included respondents who approved, liked and held strong faith in non-violence and harmonious and recommended it inspite of its weaknesses. Respondents who disapproved, disliked, resented and held no faith in non-violence were categorised as to possess unfavourable attitude. Undecided category included respondents who were not certain about their opinion.

A structured questionnaire consisting of ten items of Likert type was specially framed for the purpose of knowing attitudes towards non-violence and peace. The items in the questionnaire are listed here under :—

1. Non-violent approach to life alone can provide a just order and bring happiness to mankind.
2. A non-violent society cannot survive in the present day world.
3. Non-violence is the best philosophy of life.
4. Disarmament by all nations is the most effective measure to end wars.
5. Non-violence is the creed of the weak, strong must have recourse to violence to achieve their ends.
6. Non-alignment lowers a country's spirit and psychologically prepares it for surrender.
7. To promote world peace, manufacture of nuclear weapons should be stopped immediately.
8. Peace loving countries today fail to exert an important influence upon world opinion.
9. A free world press organisation is the best means to promote world peace.
10. Building up of non-violent society is the best guarantee against war and resolving international conflicts.

#### Sample :

A random sample of 200 students, consisting of 160 male and 40 female students, representing 20 percent of the students population of post-graduate and final year degree classes of Saugar University was selected for the study.

#### Results :

Table 1 shows the results of the application of  $X^2$  test to test the hypothesis of equal probability of responses on different categories for individual items of the questionnaire with five response categories.

The percentage of responses for each item for different categories have been worked out to see the trend of responses on each item. This is presented in table 2.

In order to see whether there is any association between sex, income level, educational background, occupational preference and attitude towards non-violence, point biserial coefficient has been calculated. 't' test has been applied to study the significance of differences in attitudes manifested by various groups.

TABLE 1

Item No.	Value of $X^2$ (chi <sup>2</sup> )	df.	Sig. At
1.	60.62	4	.01
2.	64.90	4	.01
3.	59.37	4	.01
4.	23.18	4	.01
5.	6.50	4	Not sig.
6.	14.20	4	.01
7.	21.32	4	.01
8.	16.25	4	.01
9.	15.32	4	.01
10.	66.00	4	.01

TABLE 2

Item No.	St.	Can't	Dis.	St. Dis.
	Agree	Agree	Say	Agree
1.	40.00	38.00	6.00	9.50
2.	31.00	46.00	13.00	4.00
3.	42.00	35.00	4.00	8.50
4.	29.02	33.02	12.00	16.00
5.	13.00	16.00	20.00	24.00
6.	25.00	35.00	23.00	13.00
7.	32.00	36.00	13.00	6.50
8.	27.00	32.00	11.00	14.00
9.	28.00	30.07	12.00	13.03
10.	10.00	8.00	4.00	32.00

## Discussion :

The values of  $X^2$  for all items except Item No. 5 are significant at .01 level. It may, therefore, safely be said that the student community in general does have differing attitude towards non-violence and peace.

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TABLE 3

Variables	Value of 't'	Signi. at.	Value of rpbis	Signi. at.
Attitude & Sex.	3.50	.01	.18	.01*
Attitude & Income Level	1.33	Not. Sig.	.07	Not sig.
Attitude & Edn. Background	9.60	.01	.47	.01
Attitude & Occu. preference	11.81 (Value of F)	.01		

Items 1 and 3 stress the positive aspect of non-violent way of life and its implications for humanity. It is being found that majority of the candidates have faith in basic values of non-violence and harmonious living since the percentage to the disagreement side hardly crosses the figure of 20 in these two items. The youths in the university visualise non-violence as the best philosophy of life and seems to hold that non-violent approach has the potentiality to provide a just order and guarantee maximum happiness to mankind.

Response analysis of items 2, 8 and 10 which refer to the international field and try to tap the students reaction to the role of non-violent society in the present day world reveal a conflicting picture of their mind. High percent of responses on the disagreement side for item 10 shows that the respondents are not prepared to accept the contention that non-violent society is the best guarantee against war and resolving international conflicts. High percent of responses on the agreement side on item 2 further confirms the belief that despite cherishing non-violence as the best philosophy of life, university students apprehend that a non-violent society cannot prosper in the present day world. It is also felt that peace-loving countries fail to have a strong impact upon world opinion. It may, therefore, be argued the university youth favours a pragmatic and relativistic approach. Non-violence is strongly commended at personal and social level but its success for international purposes is considered doubtful indicating a significant gap between perception of non-violence at empirical policy level.

Item 5 tries to probe into the mental make up of respondents and their perception of non-violence. It is sometimes believed that non-violence denotes weakness. However, university students do not endorse the view that non-violence is the creed of the weak and the strong should use violence to achieve their ends.

The policy of disarmament and ban on manufacture of nuclear weapons is strongly favoured so as to promote world peace and eliminate wars. Non-alignment is not much favoured as can be seen from response pattern on item 6. It is observed that 59% hold the view that non-alignment lowers a country's spirit and psychologically prepare it for surrender.

Response analysis of item 9 suggests that university students perceive a close relationship between democratic set-up and world peace. It is felt that a free world press organisation can help tremendously in breaking barriers, provide better communication between nations, and thereby reduce international tension.

Statistical analysis of results presented in summarised form in table 3 shows that sex and educational background are related to attitudes. Significant differences are revealed with regard to sex and educational background. Female students manifest stronger need for harmonious living and peace. Respondents from less educated families reveal more favourable attitudes. However, statistical findings fail to indicate close association with economic level. Value of 't' is too low to suggest significant differences in attitudes of high and low economic levels. Students inclined to choose teaching, social work and research indicate higher regard for non-violence and peace in contrast to those who show preference for army, police and administration.

#### Summary and conclusions :

A study to understand the mental make up, beliefs and attitudes of university students towards democracy was undertaken. The sample consisted of 200 Post-graduate and Final Year Degree students. Unstructured interview method-cum-structured questionnaire was used. Statistical analysis consisted of chi-square test, 't' test and point biserial 'r'. Quite significant results have been obtained.

- University students in general favour non-violent approach to life.
- Non-violence is conceived as the best philosophy of life and provide a just order for mankind.
- The policy of disarmament and ban on manufacture of nuclear weapons is strongly recommended.
- Democratic set up is perceived to bear a close relationship to world peace. Free world press organisation is believed to be an essential condition for promoting world peace.
- Non-violence is cherished at personal and social-level but its success is considered doubtful in international

field indicating a significant gap between perception and practice.

(f) Significant differences are revealed in the attitudes of university students with regard to sex, educational background and occupational preferences.

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## SEX DIFFERENCE IN INTELLIGENCE AMONG THE PUPILS OF WESTERN ORISSA

SARBESWAR SAMAL

Lecturer in Education, Govt. Training College, Sambalpur.

**Abstract :** When Samuel Johnson was asked, "which is more intelligent, man or woman" ; he replied, "Which man, which woman ?" The question of sex differences in intelligence has been a matter of active controversy. The superiority of one sex over the other largely depends upon the intellectual skill involved. The males excel the females in general information, mathematical and mechanical relationships where as the females excel their counter parts in linguistic and perceptual skill.

The present study is oriented for finding out sex difference in relation to general intelligence only. As the sampling is restricted to the secondary school pupils of the age group 13.5 to 18.0 years belonging to Western Orissa, the findings cannot be taken as generalised one. However the findings of this study confirm the finding of some previous studies on the same aspect.

One of the major findings of the present study is very interesting to note that there is no significant sex difference in relation to general intelligence. Moreover the boys are more variable in distribution of I. Q. scores than the girls.

**Introduction :** For many years the psychology of human difference was mainly confined to the study of intelligence because a wide scatter among the individuals is found so far as the measurement of this aspect is concerned. Such individual difference can be ascribed to numerous factors. As for example the question whether intelligence test scores reflect mostly heredity or environment is very often raised. Similarly a number of investigators have shown that urban or rural habitation and sex difference are partly responsible for such difference in intelligence. After the first intelligence tests were constructed, the test makers and other investigators as well have been interested in finding out sex difference in intelligence. Many studies have been conducted on this aspect. One of such studies by the Scottish Council for Research in Education (1939) shows that large sex differences do not occur in intelligence. The mean I. Q. for the boys' was 100.5 and that for the girls was 99.7. The difference was not significant. Miele (1958) by applying Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children and Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale has shown that sex difference occurs on the scores of some of the sub-tests but so far as the total score is concerned the

difference is not significant. Hobson (1947) and Havighurst & Breese (1947) found that girls of the junior high schools were significantly higher than the boys on verbal fluency of the Primary Mental Ability Test. Herzberg and Lepkin (1954) have also found exactly similar result with the senior high school girls of age range 16 to 18. In another study by Robert et al (1935) over a wider sample of 1336 boys and 1217 girls within the age range of 9.5 to 13.5 years it was found that the sex difference in intelligence was minute and non significant.

Another important aspect of sex difference in intelligence is the variability of the test scores. A number of investigators have suggested that although the average intelligence of men and women is equal, the range of intelligence is wider among the men. In the study made by the Scottish Council for Research in Education cited above, the I. Q. scores for the boys exhibited slightly greater variability than the girls.

Limited number of studies have been conducted in India on this aspect of sex difference. One such study by V. V. Kamat (1934) is noteworthy. His experiment with a sample of 638 boys and 436 girls of age range 2 to 16 years shows that the mean I. Q. for the boys was higher than that of the girls and the difference between these two means was statistically significant ( $CR=5.46$ ). His experiment further shows that the scatter of distribution of I. Q. scores in case of boys and girls is almost same. In a recent study Ahuja (1973) has shown that the intelligence test scores of boys and girls are relatively small and insignificant. Studies on similar or allied aspects have also been done by Singh (1960), Patel (1960), Trivedy (1959), and Patel (1957).

The present study is a sub-sample analysis of the major project undertaken by the author. Here an attempt has been made to find out sex difference in intelligence among the pupils of Western Orissa.

#### Method of Study :

(a) *Sample* : Out of 10 high schools selected at random from the districts belonging to the western side of Orissa, there were 3 Rural Boys', 1 Urban Boys', 3 Rural Girls' and 3 Urban Girls' High Schools. All the students reading in class X of these high schools constitute the sample for the present study. Thus the sample consists of 117 boys (Rural 87 and Urban 30) and 107 girls (Rural 47 and Urban 60). All of them were within the age range of 13.5 to 18.0 years.

(b) *Procedure* : To determine the I. Q. of all these students the Culture Fair Intelligence Test Scale-3 developed by R. B. Cattell and A. K. S. Cattell was administered. The use of such a culture free intelligence test needs some justification here. As there is no well constructed and properly standardised test in Oriya language the author had

to take recourse to the use of a foreign test. Since most of the verbal and 'non-verbal' tests require the testee's familiarity with some culturally linked objects or activities in the test items, the use of a cross cultural intelligence test was considered to be the most suitable in the present situation. The author of the test has clearly mentioned in the Test Manual the advantage of the test in the following words : "Integration of findings on intelligence is not possible with traditional tests which have different kinds and degrees of cultural knowledge in different countries even when translated. The C. F. Scales as used in the U.S.A. Australia, Britain, Belgium, France, Italy, India, Japan, Congo, etc. are identical and therefore give research results a fixed reference point."<sup>1</sup> Freeman also writes, "The Cattell Culture Free Test is another attempt to provide a measure of general mental ability free from verbal materials and from acquired skills of most performance tests".<sup>2</sup> As stated earlier the test has two parallel forms and each form has the following four non-verbal tests :

- (a) Series—Selecting one of several drawings to complete a given series.
- (b) Classification—Pointing out a pair of irrelevant drawings in each row.
- (c) Matrices—Selecting one out of a given set of drawings that correctly fits in the given incomplete pattern to make it complete.
- (d) Conditions—Placing a dot in the appropriate design the structure of which is consistent with the conditions given in the sample design.

Other reason for selecting Cattell's Culture Fair Intelligence Test in the present study is that it is designed for High School pupils to adults of superior intelligence.

Both the forms of the C.F.I.T.—Scale 3 were administered over the sample at an appropriate interval. The total of the raw scores obtained in both the forms of the test for each pupil was converted to I. Q. by using the norm table given in the test manual. The chronological age for the pupils was obtained from the school record.

**Observation & Analysis of Data :** The I. Q.s for the entire sample were obtained for Urban boys, urban girls, rural boys, rural girls, total boys and total girls separately. The mean and standard deviation for each distribution were found out. The significance of the difference between

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1. Hand Book for Culture Fair Intelligence Test—scale 3 p—39.  
 2. Freeman, Frank S.—"Theory & Practice of Psychological Testing" 3rd Edn., Oxford & IBH Publishing Co. 1951 p. 373.

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three pairs of means was studied by finding out the critical ratio with the formula  $CR = D/\sigma_D$ , where  $D$  is the difference between the means and  $\sigma_D$  is the S. E. of the difference.<sup>1</sup> All these findings have been shown in Table I. Again in Table II, the significance of difference between the  $\sigma$  values of the boys' and girls' I. Q. scores has been studied by finding out the critical ratio with the formula  $CR = D/\sigma_{D\sigma}$ ;<sup>2</sup> where  $D$

is the difference between the two standard deviations and  $\sigma_{D\sigma}$  is the SE of the difference between the standard deviations. This gives an indication of the relative scatter of the I. Q. scores.

TABLE I.

(STUDY OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DIFF. BETWEEN MEANS)

Group Description		N	Mean	$\sigma$	Mean diff.	$\sigma_D$	CR	Level of Significance.
(a) Total group.	Boys	117	83.27	14.92				
	Girls	107	12.79	10.73	0.48	1.89	0.25	N.S.
(b) Rural group.	Boys	87	79.18	13.26				
	Girls	47	85.29	14.82	6.11	2.58	2.36	0.05
(c) Urban group.	Boys	30	94.17	12.71				
	Girls	60	81.56	12.30	12.61	2.80	4.50	0.01

TABLE II

Group Description		N	$\sigma$	SE of $\sigma$	Diff. between $\sigma$	SE of the diff.	CR	Level of significance.
Total group	Boys	117	14.91	0.97				
	Girls	107	10.72	0.73	1.21	4.19	3.49	0.01

**Discussion and Conclusion :** The present study is oriented for finding out sex difference as related to general intelligence. The results of this study do not require much discussion as the tables are self explanatory. The main findings agree with the findings of some of the earlier investigations.

1. Garrett, H. E. "Statistics in Psychology & Education", Vakils, Feffer & Simons Pvt. Ltd., 1967. p. 215.

2. Garrett, H. E. Ibid p. 233.

In Table I (a) the mean difference between boys and girls sample is very minute and unreliable. The critical ratio of the difference ( $CR=0.25$ ) is not significant. Therefore the null hypothesis that there is no sex difference in intelligence in the population is retained. This result is similar to some of the findings cited above. But further analyses of the sub-samples e.g. rural boys versus rural girls and urban boys versus urban girls give some indication of sex difference in intelligence. In Table I (b) a mean difference of 6.11 is significant at 0.05 level ( $CR=2.36$ ). This shows that in the rural population, the girls excel the boys in intelligence. Likewise in Table I (c) the difference in mean I. Q.s of the boys and girls sample of the urban group is 12.61 and it is significant at 0.01 level ( $CR=4.50$ ). Such a large difference between the two means may be partly due to less number of girls taken for comparison. However it can be concluded that in the urban population the boys excel the girls in general intelligence. This finding some how agrees with that of Kamat (1934).

The other important aspect of sex difference is the relative scatter of I. Q. scores among the boys and girls. In Table II, this aspect of sex difference has been analysed by finding out the significance of difference between the standard deviations of the two samples. The critical ratio of the difference is significant ( $CR=3.49$ ) at 0.01 level. This indicates that in this population the boys are more variable in intelligence than do the girls. This finding is in accordance with the findings of the Scottish Council for Educational Research in which the boys exhibited slightly greater variability in I. Q. scores than the girls. But this result does not agree with that of Kamat. He reports that the scatter of I. Q. scores in case of both the sexes remains almost same.

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STUDIES IN THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE  
SOUTH-WEST BENGAL PRESIDENCY

(1751-1833)

DR. BINOD SANKAR DAS

( I )

Throughout the nineteenth century a question was asked about the Economic History of India : What was the true nature and sequel to the foundation of 'British Raj' in India ? Those who maintained the conception of 'traditional India' held that India's subsistence economy in the pre-British period was 'static and self-contained'. In the 18th century this socio-economic system withstood the challenges of the Western economy rejuvenated after the Industrial Revolution and reinforced by the power of the modernised imperial state machinery. The consequences are rapid destruction of village-level handicrafts, steady decadence of agriculture and continuous frustration of its industrial enterprises.<sup>1</sup>. Indian writers of the 19th and 20th centuries, termed as nationalist writers, accompanied by some Marxist intellectuals of the present century, stress the exploitative features of British rule as the cause of increasing misery and drainage of national resources and income. But the Western scholars led by Lord Curzon and followed by T. Morison, G. F. Shirras, Vera Anstey and others refusing to accept this exploitation thesis and the 'drain theory', attribute the failure of the Indian economy to respond to the warming influence of the Industrial Revolution, to the "society's other worldliness, to its lack of enterprise and to the caste-exclusiveness of groups within the society."<sup>2</sup>

This old controversy has received new interpretations and justifications among the scholars of the post-Independence era when the classical 'drain and exploitation' theory has been put under strict scrutiny. It has been maintained that (a) India's traditional economy is assessed as being at a very low level of development before 1800, with a very low per capita income and without any of the preconditions for Industrialisation. (b) The benefits conferred by the British-raj leading to peace and stability in the society, creating an economic climate of industrial-

lisation typified by irrigation, rail road constructions, mining and educational developments must have induced a substantial increase in the national as well as in per capita incomes. (c) But even then India failed to industrialise and catch up with the major trends of the industrialised societies of Asia and Europe because of the brevity of the gestation period in relation to the backwardness of the traditional economy and the inadequacy of the state's "laissez faire" policies. But this school of opinion failed to notice the exploitative nature of the British rule, put much emphasis on the beneficial nature of the British-raj and blamed natural hindrances like floods, low productivity of the soil as impediments to industrial developments.<sup>3</sup> Their arguments for India's failure to industrialise because of the brevity of the gestation period are unconvincing owing to the absence of adequate research and non-availability of the economic data to prove India's backwardness on a regional basis. The fundamental argument was left unnoticed by the authors that in absence of any basic structural change in the society there can not be any economic growth inspite of the manifold works of public utility undertaken by the government. It was this necessity to study the available economic data of a particular region to test the above-mentioned arguments to explain India's backwardness that has prompted the scholars to study the economic history of the South-West Bengal Presidency as a typical case. Therefore, the economic history of the South-West Bengal is to be studied behind the vast panorama of economic developments taking place all over India since the 17th century A.D. Moreover, the period-wise analysis of the economic phenomena would prompt scholars to trace the evolution of ancient institutions associated with the agrarian economy and prevalent religio-ethical norms which took its modern shape during the formative phases of British rule in India.

## II. Politico-economic problems to be studied in the context of political and military upheavals within and outside India

The politico-economic problems here would have to be studied in the perspective of major political and military upheavals which took place within and outside India. Thus in the third phase of its history the challenge of British domination produced tremendous waves of reaction from among the people. Even in 1767 the Zamindar of Ghatsila refused 'to admit a frysingo' in his domain without bloodshed and posted paiks in all avenues and inlets of his pargana.<sup>5</sup> Bhanja Rajas of Mayurbhanj also resisted the British pretensions in Nayabasan and Amardachaur. Jadu Singh, the old

zamindar of Bogri, with his sons and grandsons fought to the last against the Company's government. The early British rule in the Jungle Mahals witnessed a momentous change in the life of the people. The people, content with their culture and political life, were looked down upon by the Company's officials as criminals. Turbulent jungle chiefs were dealt with in a hostile manner by demolishing their strongholds, disbanding their local militia and over-powering their military might.<sup>6</sup> The paiks were forced to sacrifice their nankar paikan lands. Ghatwali lands were also resumed step by step. The chiefs and the people felt the natural impulse of resistance, the nature of which was misunderstood both by the British officials and the historians. It was, in fact an expression of a sense of alienation to the new system that had been imposed on them by the British rule with which they were never associated before. It was a spark of resistance against a change in the economic life of the people which they could not anticipate. This new process of challenge and response in the third transition period in the 'Jungle Mahals' and Midnapur was admirably summed up by W.K. Firminger.<sup>7</sup>

"The English could show the Mughal sanads and farmans to justify their occupation but the Directors when they referred to lands granted in zamindari tenure as 'territory' or as 'Possessions' clearly intended to indicate that rights obtained by process of Mughal law, would, if necessary, be maintained by military force. Behind the diplomatic or legal settlement there was a virtual conquest of the country i.e. suppression of the native military power by the British military power."

### III British conquest and its impact on the agrarian society

With the extension of the British arms in 1760 in the chaklas of Midnapur, Burdwan and Chittangong, the Company had to face some unprecedented problems and burdens. The Company's top-ranking representatives at the helm of affairs, local bureaucrats appointed in this region and the already existent Indian rulers had to face three-fold inter-connected problems, viz., (1) What would be the best mode of collecting land-revenue; (2) who would be regarded as the original owner of lands which was the only means of production and (3) how to establish direct contact with the original producers by eliminating intermediaries from the production sector ?

These three questions are associated with one basic problem, i.e. whether the zamindars could be regarded as owners of estates or as merely a revenue-collecting agency. Three answers came from three grades of officials already mentioned, leading at last to the tacit acceptance of the zamindars' ownership over the estates but not over its usufruct.<sup>8</sup> Under

the circumstances the chief features of the pre-Permanent Settlement period may be summed up under the following lines :

- (a) Gradual Europeanisation of the administrative machinery and the enhancement of magisterial power of the collectors.
- (b) The idea of 'local police, local responsibility' was abandoned, but no definite thanadary system was evolved consequently, new thanadars were discredited in the countryside.
- (c) The zamindars were recognised as the owners of estates but not owners of its full produce. This denial of the usufructuary right over soil synchronised with the gradual pauperisation of the agricultural community leading to the spread of crimes in the countryside.
- (d) The failure of an organised police system led to rampant gang-robbery and corruption in the administrative set-up imposed by the British-raj made the situation still worse.
- (e) The new land revenue system and the introduction of new legal norms led to the rapid emergence of a middle class in towns in the shape of zamindary amlas, pleaders and tax-collectors. In this situation the popular revolts, the chuar uprisings of 1796-99 took place.<sup>9</sup> The genesis of the chuar-paik rebellion may be found in the demerits of the permanent settlement. These are : (i) over-assessment and fixation of money-rent, (ii) no extra-impost was allowed to be realised by the landlords from the original producers but in practice numerous 'abwabs' (extra imposts) remained leading inevitably to the entry of a new class of money-lenders and bureaucrats into the scene, (iii) relative role of produce and money-rents as the service-rents receded to the background and (iv) the system of usurious advance paving the way for the decline of independent peasantry and consequently, growth of a section of rich and privileged peasantry who had stock and other implements of production. But there were some specific causes of the chuar rebellion, such as, resumption of paikan lands, service-tenure. The zamindary tenure also was liable to sale for arrears of 'Jumma' (revenue).<sup>10</sup>

#### IV The process of pauperisations

Moreover, the stringent application of sale laws and resumption of paikan lands, led to the rapid pauperisation of the chuar ryots and the consequent unsettlement in the social relationships which contributed to the chuar rebellion of 1799 in the Jungle Mahals and the paik revolts in Orissa in 1816-18 and the Naek revolt of 1833 in the Jungle Mahals. The depression which was created under the system was both psychological and financial. The depression was psychological because the steep fall in the status of the paik communities in the countryside joined hands with the disbandment of paik militia who even in the last decades of the

18th century fought and won for the East India Company many a battle in different parts of India. This community of traditional armed retainers found itself over-night degraded to the position of the wage-earners as well as to the status of day and seasonal labourers having no stock or land of their own. The depression was financial because these paiks became increasingly dependent on a section of the richer peasantry who had stock and, under the new system, had also become the owners of land and sometimes with alternative occupation. The judicial records of the period were full of protests against oppression of the thanadars over this class of people.<sup>11</sup>

#### V. The nature of the peasant resistance movements

The peasant resistance movements in Midnapur, Cuttack and the Jungle Mahals flared up with the active participation of the Rajas of Mayurbhanj and other minor chiefs like Jagabandhu Vidyadhar of Khurda and Ganga Narayan of the Jungle Mahals. This frontier state had a strategic importance for which its rulers always enjoyed exemption from taxation as they were regarded as the 'wardens of the march-lands'. At first the rulers tacitly accepted the British rule. But the open defiance of British paramountcy and reinstatement of Jagannath Dhal of Dhalbhum opened the eyes of Damodar Bhanj, the Mayurbhanj ruler and sharp clash of interests with the Company's government developed on the issue of land settlement over the estates of Amardachaur and Bhelorachour.<sup>12</sup> After his demise in 1796, Rani Sumitra, the widow of the deceased king followed a conciliatory attitude towards the Company owing to her quarrel with the Tikayet Tribikram Bhanj, the heir-presumptive and to her utter helplessness until Orissa was conquered by the Company in 1803.<sup>13</sup>

After 1803 changes in the administrative machinery were marked by the systematisation of land-revenue arrangements, introduction of a legal system based on Indo-European legal norms and constant experiments in the administrative machinery with fluctuations in territorial frontiers. These measures resulted in the elimination of the age-old Indian revenue agencies or the landed-proprietors from the production-sector and the consequent growth of a new townbred landed aristocracy who invested money in land-speculation. In this 'environment in motion' the recorded instances show that the Company's government took precautionary measures to protect landed-interests against forced sales. But cases were not wanting where existing land-holders were ejected in connivance with their 'naibs' who bought lands deliberately to hoodwink their masters. Thus by the beginning of the 19th century a tendency to invest surplus capital in purchasing landed estates got a new momentum.<sup>14</sup> Sales of estates and eject-

ment from holdings led the agricultural labourers to move towards the towns, whereas the flow of capital was in the direction of villages in the shape of investment in landed estates for increasing individual holdings. In the first half of the 19th century the new landlord-capitalists coming from the urban sector of Bengal, mainly from Calcutta, were not dissociated from the agrarian economy, and the absentee landlordism was a feature of the later period. Another aspect of this change was that this surplus agricultural income was invested only in land-speculation to increase the size of the land-holding, while no appreciable steps for agricultural improvement were undertaken by the land-holders to increase their income.

The economic condition of the old-guards was far from being improved. Relative financial bankruptcy of the old-guards, greed and rapacity of the 'zamindary amlas', increased social and religious obligations, competitive tendency of squandering away of surplus agricultural profits in non-productive socio-religious expenditures and increase in the size of the revenue-collecting agencies of the landlords compelled the land-holders to borrow money from the neighbouring money-lenders even on usurious interest rates.<sup>15</sup> The only alternative left to them to save themselves from financial bankruptcy was to squeeze the original producers until ejection from their holdings.

In this situation to protect the interests of the original producers the government urged the zamindars to grant 'pattas' to the ryots. But the recorded materials are silent on the point whether the zamindars warmly responded to the government order. The increasing pressure of population, withering away of domestic industries owing to lack of adequate capital-investment after 1833 and non-availability of the wide market-facilities, and absence of tillage rights, whether of property or of occupancy, ultimately led to the inevitable consequence i. e. pauperisation of the agricultural producers and their eventual ejection from the land-holdings.

It has been contended by scholars that 'only by making good the wage-goods gap through a quick expansion in the output of wage-goods in the shape of daily necessities of the labourers, it is possible to raise the employment potential and thus to initiate an upward cumulative process which would avert the pernicious tendency of pauperisation'.<sup>16</sup> As this was not possible to accomplish at that period either by the Company's government or by the already hard-pressed Indian entrepreneurial classes in the production-sector since the period of the Muslim rule, the only alternative solution to the impending socio-economic problems was found in the large-scale emigration of the labour-class,

## VI. Changes in the Demographic picture and its impact on the agrarian economy

The south-western part of the Bengal Presidency can be divided into three natural divisions according to the nature of the soil and the ethnic character of its inhabitants. In the first half of the 19th century the transplantation of population took place from one region to another in a south-western direction and this was from the hilly to the midland plains and from there to the coastal region. Changes in the pattern of population-distribution in the region were the product of two forces : (a) migratory movements and (b) variations in the rate of natural increase by birth and by lessening of death-rates. In the absence of adequate statistical data to measure variations in the rate of natural increase by birth and lessening of death-rates, studies in demographic changes demand an analysis of contributory factors like migratory movements helping population growth in this region covering three modern districts of Midnapur, Bankura and Balasore.<sup>17</sup> This would reveal an age-long migratory movements of population from the northern hilly region through the midland plains down to the coastal region and this tendency of transmigration denies any political frontier of provinces which found new acceleration in the first three decades of the 19th century.

The relation of the Bhanj rulers of Mayurbhanj and Malla rulers of Bishnupur with the Company's government was inseparably connected with the gradual decline of the Bhonsle power in Orissa and the extension and consolidation of the British-grip round this region. With the rapid expansion of the British paramountcy all over India the possibility of levying chauth and sardeshmukhi over the neighbouring regions of the Bhonsle rulers was severely curtailed. The Bhonsle had even to borrow money from the Gossain baniyas to pay off the arrear salary of his vast and the almost idle army in the absence of any large scale army mobilisation mainly owing to the foundation of the British-raj in Bengal.<sup>18</sup> Financial bankruptcy of the royal exchequer at Nagpur led to rampant anarchy in the Bengal-Orissa borderlands in the shape of gang-robbery. The frequent disturbances, arising out of migration of population, vague demarcation of the frontier-line between the forest kingdoms (Jungle Mahals with Bhum territories), strengthening of gang-robbery and other socio-economic anarchical conditions found their climacteric point in the Chuar Rebellion of 1799, Paik Rebellion of 1816-18, and the Naek Revolt or the Ganganarayan Hangama of 1831-32 and in the climax of the Kol Insurrections of 1832-33.<sup>19</sup>

**VII. Economic history of Orissa is inseparably connected with the frontier incursions of the period**

To the students of economic history of the then Orissa the frontier disturbances of the Bengal-Orissa border areas are the expressions of creeping degeneration of the economy of the province under the incompetent regime of the Bhonsle rulers of Nagpur against which the British historians spoke so eloquently. Today we are puzzled by a host of problems regarding the traditional poverty of the Orissa masses of the people caused by the natural and man-made calamities like floods and famines, bureaucratic oppressions and social corruptions leading almost to parasitism which crept into the society for generations together.<sup>20</sup> But all these maladies, no doubt, had their origins partly in the Muslim and particularly in the Maratha rules in Orissa and partly in the failure of the rulers to boost up adequate capital formation in the region owing to the drain of capital resources from this region by the alien rulers.

( II )

**I. Agrarian economy of Orissa vis-a-vis the British Capitalist confrontations**

Maratha misrule in Orissa led to the decentralisation of the government responsibility, over-growth of a non-productive parasite-class in the agrarian economy, increase in the size of the peace-keeping, revenue-collecting agencies and mounting expenditures of the landed proprietors in non-productive socio-religious obligations of the generation. This bred internecine warfare among the landed proprietors. They with a view to increasing the size of the landed estates to increase their money-income embroiled themselves in futile warfare. This in turn made them unable to answer heavy financial demands of the alien governments.<sup>21</sup> This might be the golden epoch of the money-speculators particularly the Sahukar and the Gossain mahajans as usury became an indispensable feature of the economy. But these money-lender merchant communities were also hard-pressed by the ruling-machinery. Arbitrary imposition of taxation coupled with developing country-wide gang-robbery destroyed the possibility of flourishing salt and textile industries patronised by the European Companies and their native merchant associates, called 'dadni' merchants.<sup>22</sup> As a consequence, the availability of cheap black-soil cotton of Nagpur and neighbouring region of Maharashtra and settlement of expert weavers who had inherited the traditional skill and excellence in weaving when Orissa had a glorious past, could not prevent the ultimate ruin of the textile industry of Orissa. The weavers immigrated to Khirpai, Sona-

mukhi and other textile producing centres of the Jungle Mahals, Midnapur and Bishnupur. This led to heavy concentration of man-power on the Orissan agriculture which became the only means of livelihood.<sup>23</sup> The Company's government also could do practically nothing to revive that industry after 1803. The Maratha misrule brought an end to the flourishing internal and oceanic trade and after 1803 the Company's government deliberately put impediments on the trade-routes on the pretext of suppressing the so-called smuggling of abgari and consumers goods, particularly salt and opium.<sup>24</sup> Thus all attempts made by the producers to meet the heavy burdens of the ruling machinery controlled by the Marathas, and after 1803 by the Company's government, were frustrated leaving the only alternative to carry on peasant resistance movements of 1799, 1818 and 1833 throughout that region.

Hunter says that the Maratha misrule was no less rapacious than the Muslim misgovernment and this explains the general apathy of the people towards the British conquest of Orissa in 1803 as the Indian elements whole-heartedly supported the British occupation of the province.<sup>25</sup> But studies in the agrarian history of Orissa would reveal that British misrule in Orissa at least in its formative stage was no less atrocious to the people than that of their predecessors even though it is accepted that the public expenditure outweighed the total receipts to the exchequer of the previous governments and the government excluded a sizable portion of the old aristocracy from the government machinery by importing alien legal norms and socio-economic arrangements unknown to the 'old-guards' and the people they ruled.<sup>26</sup>

## II. Acquisitive tendencies of colonial rule in Orissa and resistance of the indigenous elements

The year 1803 marks a turning point in the history of the South-West Bengal Presidency as an alien government was set up in Orissa in association with a class of speculative money-merchants and civil servants of the neighbouring province of Bengal. The agrarian and feudal Orissa now faced the challenge of a capitalist 'Baboo' society of Bengal which was determined to carry on money-speculation in Orissa's land-tenure system leading to disastrous results in the then Orissan economy.<sup>27</sup> The advent of the British rule brought in a sense of alienation and total frustration of the Oriya and the Maratha bureaucrats, money-lenders and revenue-collectors which assumed dimensions of militant resistance movements against the misrule of the immigrated Bengali money-speculators and Muslim police personnel. The complete elimination of the Oriya and Maratha revenue officials from the administrative set-up and apathy of the old ruling community to the new land system, ignorance of the rulers about the old and traditional

land-revenue system and social structure and prevalent land-tenures based as it was on the basis of village-level socio-economic units compelled them to take resort to short term revenue-settlements, introduction of metallic currency instead of cowrie currency controlled by the Maratha entrepreneurs and elimination of intermediaries like village-level surburakars, pradhans, mokaddams from the production-sectors like that of salt and textile industries.<sup>28</sup> These changes brought economic dislocation in the social hierarchy which were followed by large-scale sale of landed estates, elimination of native revenue collectors by the Bengali speculators leading to resumption of non-revenue paying lands, enhancement of the total volume of jumma but utter failure of the revenue-collecting agency to realise the arrears of rent by increasing the size of the taxable capital and available resources.

These phenomena were associated with the large-scale immigration of population to Garhjat areas and to Bengal, settlement of non-resident ryots in settled areas at a minimum rent on temporary lease-hold basis, inability of the speculative farmers to answer heavy assessments. There were also the natural calamities occasioned partly by the paucity of capital investments for repairing embankments, for improving cultivation through irrigation and other public works like road constructions. There was the failure to bring the waste lands under cultivation preventing the desertion of the ryots from the settled but heavily assessed landed estates from the coastal areas to the urban centres as well as migration towards sparsely populated hilly regions.<sup>29</sup> Neither the government nor the speculative farmers desired large-scale capital investments in the landed estates, owing to the very short-term nature of their lease-hold tenures while the native landed proprietors could not undertake large-scale capital investments which the situation demanded owing to their lack of saving-capacity and developing sense of alienation from the politico-administrative system imposed by the British-Raj which they so eagerly invited in 1803. This was due to the mounting extravagant expenditure of the landed proprietors in socio-religious obligations and unprecedented increase in the size of their revenue-collecting agencies associated with the increase in the size of the privileged and non-revenue paying tenures, pauperisation of the settled and resident ryots on whom naturally the incidence of taxation fell heavily.<sup>30</sup> It was only after the out break of the peasant resistance movements of 1818 led by Jagabandhu Vidyadhar that the rulers could understand the real source of malady as lying partly on natural and largely on man-made causes. But they took long fifteen years to arrive at long-term land settlements, systematic re-arrangements for road and embankment constructions and appointment of native proprietors in their tenure-holdings and even distribution of the total volume of taxation over the privileged

as well as unprivileged settled ryots. This was to ensure social justice by bringing waste-lands under cultivation to augment production<sup>31</sup>. They could realise that this was the sure way to enhance the paying capacity of the tenure-holders and that promulgation of regulations would safeguard the interests of the settled ryots on their property-holdings against arbitrary ejection and distress by the landed proprietors.

The period commencing from 1803 to 1833 witnessed sporadic agrarian movements against the new landed proprietors, money speculators and oppressive government amlahs. The protests throughout the province of Orissa and the districts of Midnapur, and the Jungle Mahals found articulate expressions in and round 1833, the year of insurrections against the oppressive agrarian institutions which the British-raj perpetuated and imposed over the reluctant primary producers. This period of unrest and economic dislocation arose, as may be analysed, out of revenue experiments of the rulers, new mode of investments in landed estates, in the changing pattern of land-use, in the growing land-hunger of the producers with heavy concentration of population in agriculture after the collapse of internal and oceanic trade. The period marked the ruin of village-level industries like textile and salt as a consequence to developing frontier troubles arising out of breeding of country-wide gang-robbery led by the destitute privileged tenure-holders. This was due to the entry of new elements in the population leading to change in the demographic picture, and also owing to new responses to the challenges of an alien government to basic village-level shells. This was the outcome of an economic dislocation in the productive machinery of an under-developed agrarian society. But the failure of almost all the movements to imprint any sustained impression on the society raises the question as to whether the movements were popular or merely confined to a handful of minority of population enjoying privileged-tenure over the hard-pressed settled ryots. There is no denying the fact that the resistance movements were confined to a handful of minority of conditional tenure-holders and their armed retainers joined by the landless peasantry cultivating their lands on short-term leasehold basis while a majority of the peaceful ryots armed with stock for cultivation and owners of lands remained outside its spell of influence. Whatever the British rulers would like one to believe the objective conditions would reveal the facts that the sporadic revolts were the outcome of a desperate attempt by the agrarian community to change a super-imposed economic system on an underdeveloped agrarian society—the system which they did not anticipate.<sup>32</sup>

Again, pauperisation of the rural labour force led to their rapid transplantation from the Company's territories to the neighbouring

maratha countries, from the revenue-paying to the non-revenue paying territories. The advance of loans by the British and Bengali business-men tended towards usury leading towards the enhancement of prices of essential commodities like salt, rice, and textile goods with the free play of money-capital. While the Parsi, Gujrati, and Rajasthani merchant class on the banks of the Ganges began to speculate money on commercial transactions with the outside world, the Bengali middle-class speculated money on the riskless landed property which was opened to them over this ever-expanding frontier of the 'wild South-West Bengal Presidency', and thus they were eventually pushed out of the commercial sector of Bengal by their Parsi, Gujrati, and Marwari counterparts.<sup>33</sup>

The agrarian revolts assumed the garb of militant regionalism not only against the British capitalists but also against the British backed middle class babu speculators belonging to Bengal.

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## EMPLOYEES' STATE INSURANCE SCHEME—A STUDY OF ITS WORKING IN ORISSA DURING 1961-70

S. C. SAHOO

Department of Commerce G. M. College, Sambalpur.

### I

#### Introduction

The demand for health insurance for workers has been raised in India ever since I. L. O. adopted the Sickness Insurance (Industry) Convention in 1927. Such a demand received a great fillip by the publication of Prof. Adarkar's Report on Health Insurance for Industrial Workers in 1942. The draft Scheme contained in this Report as modified by the two ILO experts, Mr. M. Stack and Mr. R. Rao became the basis of the Employees' State Insurance Act passed in April 1948. The Act contains an integrated measure of social insurance designed to accomplish the task of protecting "employees" as defined in the Act against the hazards of sickness, maternity, disablement and death due to employment injury and to provide medical care to insured persons and their families. The Scheme is compulsory, contributory and State subsidised. The insured employees and their employers bear the major portion of the cost of the scheme, the share of the latter being more than double of the former. The Central and the State Governments also subsidise the scheme by meeting a part of the cost of administration and medical benefit respectively. The tripartite contribution principle of the scheme is thought to ensure availability of adequate funds for the various benefits contemplated under the scheme. With this background, the present paper is an attempt to examine the progress and working of the E. S. I. Scheme in Orissa.

### II

#### Scope of the Act

The E. S. I. Act applies to all non-seasonal factories run with power and employing 20 or more persons, excluding mines and railway running sheds. Persons employed directly and indirectly and also clerical staff are covered by the Act. But it does not apply to members of the Armed Forces or to a person whose wages excluding overtime remuneration exceed Rs. 500/- per month. Thus, unlike the Workmen's Compensation Act and the Maternity Benefit Act, the E. S. I. Act extends its benefits even to the white collar employees in the covered factories.

## III

**Administration of the Scheme**

The Scheme is administered by the Employees' State Insurance Corporation having members on its Board representing employees, employers, the Central and State Governments, Medical profession, and the Parliament. The other Bodies at the national level are the Standing Committee—a representative body of the Corporation and the Medical Benefit Council—a specialised body which advises the Corporation on administration of medical benefit. The cash benefits are administered by the Corporation, while the medical care is provided by the State Governments. At the regional and local levels, the Regional Boards and Local Committees have been constituted. Thus, there is an association of interests at all levels.

The Regional Office at Cuttack in Orissa was set up from 17th September 1959. There are 4 Local Offices, 2 Mini Local Offices, one Inspection Office and 6 Pay Offices under the Regional Office in the State. The Local Offices deal with and disburse all claims for sickness, maternity, disablement and dependants' benefit. These offices also answer all doubts and enquiries and assist otherwise in filling in claim forms and completing other action necessary in connection with the settlement of claims. There is a Regional Board which is of tripartite character. The functions of the Board are mainly advisory. It discusses the problems of relationships between the Corporation, its officers and offices, and the employers, employees and the insured persons so as to secure efficient working of the scheme in full co-operation of all the parties concerned and to make recommendations to the Director-General in regard to all such matters.

## IV

**Progress and Working**

Let us now turn to the discussion of the actual coverage made by the scheme in the State and the various benefits paid to the insured industrial workers under it.

**Coverage**

The Scheme of Employees' State Insurance started operating in Orissa from 1959. A study of its progress in the State shows that the coverage of the scheme is widening and by the end of 1970-71, 178 factories representing 71,000 employees had been brought under the scheme. The number of workers brought under the scheme has been increasing year after year. As regards the actual implementation of the scheme it may be seen that 62.36 per cent of the factories in all areas<sup>1</sup>

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have been covered and 44.27 per cent of the workers in the same have been insured. The number of centres at the end of 1970-71 stood at 11. The percentage of employees already covered does not show a favourable trend. This is due to the fact that actual implementation failed to keep pace with the wider extension of the coverage of the scheme. Data relating to all these have been set out in Table 1 given below.

TABLE 1  
COVERAGE OF THE E.S.I. SCHEME IN ORISSA

Year	All Areas		Implemented Areas		No. of Centres	% Coverage*	
	No. of Factories	No. of Employees	No. of Factories	No. of Employees		Factories	Employees
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1962-63	83	33,050	62	21,300	6	74.69	64.44
1963-64	90	40,800	66	23,300	6	73.33	57.10
1964-65	107	46,650	74	24,500	7	69.15	52.52
1965-66	118	51,900	84	27,700	8	71.18	53.37
1966-67	120	51,400	80	26,750	8	66.66	52.04
1967-68	137	55,900	98	29,100	10	71.55	52.03
1968-69	132	58,250	91	29,500	10	77.43	50.64
1969-70	165	61,800	106	28,600	10	64.24	46.27
1970-71	178	71,600	111	31,700	11	62.36	44.27

\* Worked out by the author.

SOURCE : Annual Reports of the E. S. I. Corporation, New Delhi.

### Benefits under the Scheme

The Scheme provides for medical care, protection against sickness, maternity, disablement and death due to employment injury. The working of the Scheme can be assessed from an examination of the progress of payments made for the abovementioned benefits. So, the nature and progress of payment under each type of benefit may be taken up for discussion in the following paragraphs :

#### Sickness and Extended Sickness Benefits :

One of the benefits available to an insured person under the Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948 is 'sickness benefit' which has got

no statutory antecedent in India. Sickness benefit consists of periodic cash payments to an insured person in case of sickness<sup>2</sup>, subject to the fulfilment of qualifying conditions<sup>3</sup> for the benefit. The benefit is payable for a maximum number of 56 days in any two consecutive benefit periods. Benefit is not paid for an initial waiting period of 2 days unless the insured person is certified sick within 15 days of the last spell in which sickness benefit was paid. The rate of benefit works out to about half the daily wage of an insured.

In India originally there was no provision for the extension of the sickness benefit period in cases of chronic and serious diseases causing prolonged illness. It is only with effect from June 1958 that the E. S. I. Scheme extended the benefit for prolonged illnesses like tuberculosis, leprosy, mental and malignant diseases, and other diseases of prolonged nature. The benefit is paid for a maximum period 309 days for any of the disease in Group A and for a maximum period of 124 days for any of the diseases in Group B<sup>4</sup>. Thus, together with the sickness benefit for 56 days, it puts a claimant on benefit for an aggregate period of 365 days for Group A diseases and 180 days for Group B diseases. The extended sickness benefit is payable at the full rate of sickness benefit.

For eligibility to the benefit mentioned earlier an insured person should have been in continuous employment for a period of 2 years fulfilled contribution conditions for sickness benefit during any 3 of the preceding 4 contribution periods. This contribution condition is not required in the extent of disability from administration of drugs/injections.

The Employees' State Insurance Scheme has been in operation in Orissa for the last more than one decade and the experience of sickness benefit and extended sickness benefit gained during its working in Orissa can be studied with the help of the data set out in Table 2

The table shows a steady increase in the annual average number of sickness benefit days per employee till 1967-68. This means that the period of sickness of the insured industrial workers was on the increase. The amount of daily rate of benefit per employee has registered a gradual increase though the year-wise rise is small in many cases. This is, perhaps due to an increase in the average wage rate of the employees as also presumably to a shift in the incidence of sickness in relation to wage-groups. Column 6 of the table shows no definite trend in the average duration of extended sickness benefit per terminated case. The average duration was the highest in 1968-69 followed by 1969-70. As regards the number of cash benefit payment it is seen that the same is rising upward steadily. In percentage terms the

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TABLE 2  
PAYMENT OF SICKNESS AND EXTENDED SICKNESS BENEFIT

Year	Sickness Benefit			Extended Sicknes Benefit		No. of Cash Benefit payment
	Rate of fresh spells per employee per annum	Average No. of sickness days per employee per annum	Average Daily Rate (Rs.)	Rate of fresh cases per 1000 employees per annum	Average duration per terminated case	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1961—62	0.84	4.9	1.9	0.9	157.1	19,976
1962—63	1.73	5.8	1.8	1.3	207.1	21,863
1963—64	1.84	5.6	2.0	1.3	168.2	22,032
1964—65	2.25	6.1	2.3	1.1	174.5	26,015
1965—66	3.57	7.8	2.5	1.6	176.7	30,351
1966—67	2.82	8.9	2.5	1.8	191.3	34,111
1967—68	0.85	10.1	2.7	1.2	168.9	34,312
1968—69	0.90	10.1	2.7	1.3	271.4	36,582
1969—70	0.92	9.4	2.9	1.7	261.7	41,794
1970—71	0.91	8.5	2.9	1.8	197.1	43,669

SOURCE : Annual Reports, E. S. I. Corporation, New Delhi.

rise has been roughly 119 per cent over the period between 1961-62 and 1970-71.

#### Disablement Benefits :

Compensation for employment injuries are also paid to the workers in factories covered under the E. S. I. Act 1948. The benefits paid for employment injuries may be called disablement benefits. Disablement under the E. S. I. Scheme is a condition resulting from employment injury which may be :—(a) temporary, that is, rendering an insured person incapable of work temporarily and necessitating medical treatment ; (b) permanent partial, that is, reducing the earning capacity of the insured person generally for every employment : and (c) permanent total i. e., totally depriving the insured person of the power to do all work.

Temporary Disablement Benefit is paid periodically in arrears as evidence of incapacity (medical certificate) is produced. Permanent total

disablement and permanent partial disablement benefits are paid in the form of pensions. The daily rate for permanent total disablement and temporary disablement is 25 per cent more than the standard sickness benefit rate and is roughly equivalent to about 62 per cent of the wage rate. For payment of partial disablement, the rate of benefit is proportionate to the percentage loss of earning capacity. The benefit is also paid for Sundays. Temporary Disablement Benefit is paid as long as disablement lasts. There is a waiting period of 3 days (excluding the day of accident), but if incapacity exceeds this period, benefit is paid from the very first day. The permanent disablement benefit is paid for the life-time of the beneficiary. There are no qualifying conditions as to the length of employment or the number of contributions paid. Protection accrues from the very moment of entry into insurable employment. Data relating to the incidence of Temporary Disablement and Permanent Disablement Benefits under the E. S. I. Scheme during 1961-1971 are set out in Table 3 given below.

TABLE 3  
PAYMENT OF TEMPORARY DISABLEMENT AND PERMANENT  
DISABLEMENT BENEFITS

Year	Temporary	Disablement	Benefit	Permanent	Disablement	Benefit
	Rate of fresh spells per em- ployee per annum	No. of tem- porary disablement benefit days per employee per annum	Average daily rate of benefit (Rs.)	Rate of fresh case per 100 em- ployees	No. of cases commuted for lump sum	No of benefi- ciaries at the end of the year
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1961-62	0.08	0.60	1.73	1.87	N.A.	54
1962-63	0.12	0.69	1.87	2.11	N.A.	97
1963-64	0.17	0.90	1.93	3.05	N.A.	122
1964-65	0.16	0.84	2.22	3.25	41	197
1965-66	0.13	0.99	2.25	3.50	57	220
1966-67	0.12	0.83	2.51	1.83	30	244
1967-68	0.04	0.96	2.03	1.47	16	233
1968-69	0.04	1.11	3.04	2.73	87	249
1969-70	0.08	2.00	3.55	2.17	26	277
1970-71	0.09	2.34	3.59	3.59	47	232

SOURCE : Annual Reports, E. S. I. Corporation, New Delhi.

From the table it is seen that the rate of fresh spells in case of temporary disablement during 1967-68 to 1970-71 were comparatively lower than the period covering 1962-63 to 1966-67. However, since 1967-68 the number of temporary disablement benefit days per employee per annum has remained increasing and the same stood at 2.34 in 1970-71. This implies that the disablements have lasted for a longer period—during this period than the preceding years. The average daily rate of benefit on this account has also remained increasing which is obviously due to the general rising trend in the money wages of the insured employees. The data on permanent disablement benefit show that the same per 1000 employees was more during 1963-64 and 1964-65 and again in 1970-71. The number of cases commuted for lumpsum was 87 in 1968-69 being the highest over the period.

#### Dependants' Benefit :

The Employees' State Insurance Act providing for the payment of dependants' benefit to the eligible dependants<sup>9</sup> of an insured person who dies as a result of an employment injury. A large number of factors combine to determine the cost of dependants' benefit. Basically, it will depend on the incidence of fatal accidents among the employees covered. The Annual Reports of the E. S. I. Corporation show that in 1961-62 the number of death cases admitted was only 1 and in 1970-71 the same stood at 5 implying a five-fold rise over the period. As against Rs. 14,000 in 1961-62 the value of claims admitted in 1970-71 stood at Rs. 92,000.

#### Funeral Benefit :

This benefit, no doubt, is a minor benefit compared with most of the other benefits under the E. S. I. Scheme. But, it is of great human and social significance. In a country like India where the ceremonial and customary expenditure in the case of a married adult is excessively heavy, the importance of such an assistance is still more. It is in fitness of things that the Employees' State Insurance Corporation also pays funeral benefit which consists of a lump sum payment towards the expenditure on the funeral of the deceased insured person. The lump sum amount of this benefit is equal to the actual expenditure, not exceeding Rs. 100/- towards the funeral of the deceased insured person. No contribution condition is required for this benefit. The only condition for admissibility of this benefit is that the deceased person should have been an insured person at the time of this death.

In Orissa, it is found that during 1968-69 there were 17 number of claims for which Rs. 1,675 was paid towards funeral expenses. In

1969-70 the number of claims for such a benefit went up to 51 and an amount of Rs. 5,100 was paid on account of this.

### Medical Benefit :

Medical care is a basic necessity of human being and to receive the same has been recognised as the fundamental right<sup>8</sup>. Medical benefit under the E. S. I. Scheme means medical care of insured persons and their families where the coverage is extended to the family. Medical care to insured persons is comprehensive and includes out-door treatment, domiciliary visit and provision of drugs and dressings, specialists services including pathological and radiological tests and indoor treatment. Artificial limbs, dentures, spectacles and hearing aids are provided free of cost to an insured person when these become necessary as a result of employment injury. On entry into insurable employment a single weekly contribution entitles an insured person to medical care for a period of 13 weeks.

### Maternity Benefit :

Maternity is another contingency requiring social protection and the protection is maternity benefit. Maternity benefit is the cash benefit to a woman worker for the specified period of abstention from work for confinement or miscarriage or for sickness arising out of pregnancy, confinement, premature birth of child or miscarriage<sup>9</sup>. The provision of maternity benefits to working mothers was the second step in the history of social security in India. Maternity benefits are being paid under two Acts, viz. Maternity Benefit Act 1961 and the Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948. The provision under the latter Act may be examined here.

Under the E. S. I. Act maternity benefit is paid in cash to an insured woman for a period of 12 weeks of which not more than six may precede the period of confinement. The daily benefit rate is double the sickness benefit rate and is thus roughly equivalent to the full wages. Benefit is paid for Sundays also. So far as the leave benefits and the daily rate of benefits are concerned, the provisions of both the E. S. I. Act and the Maternity Benefit Act are the same. Leave for 6 weeks before and 6 weeks after the delivery is granted to a woman worker. During this period, she gets a cash benefit at the rate of the average daily wage or Re. 1/- per day whichever is higher. Table—1 in the next page shows the maternity benefits paid, rate of confinement, etc. in Orissa under the E. S. I. Scheme.

Data given in the a-table reveals that the average amount of cash benefit per maternity claim has increased from Rs. 181/- in 1961-62

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TABLE 4.

## TREND IN THE RATES OF CONFINEMENTS AND AVERAGE AMOUNT OF BENEFIT PER CONFINEMENT

Year	No. of confinement	Amount paid (Rs.)	Rate of confinement per annum per 1000 insured women exposed	Average amount paid per confinement
				(Rs.)
1	2	3	4	5
1961—62	53	9,596	53.0	181
1962—63	29	5,136	38.0	177
1963—64	40	7,950	47.1	199
1964—65	50	11,014	45.5	220
1965—66	46	10,081	35.8	219
1966—67	30	9,064	20.7	302
1967—68	39	14,154	26.9	363
1968—69	60	18,579	31.6	275
1969—70	82	26,154	32.2	316
1970—71	134	35,000	55.8	281

SOURCE : 1. For 1961—62 to 1969—70, Regional Director, E. S. I. Corporation, Regional Office, Orissa.  
 2. For 1970—71, Annual Report, E. S. I. Corporation, New Delhi and Indian Labour Statistics, 1972.

to Rs. 271/- in 1970-71. This is due to an increase in the average wages of the women workers. The number of claims per 1,000 insured women employees has increased from 53.00 in 1961-62 to 55.8 in 1970-71 and particularly from 32.2 in 1969-70 to 55.8 in 1970-71. This is perhaps due to variations in the age and marital status of the female employees and also the ineffectiveness of the family planning among the women workers covered under the E. S. I. Scheme.

### Important Defects

Though the E. S. I. Scheme is quite a substantial achievement in the field of social security for industrial workers in India, yet a number of shortcomings exists in its working. A few important ones may be pointed out here.

(a) First, there is no arrangement for the preventive measures for the medical benefits of the employees. For instance, in other countries there is the provision for periodical examination specifically for the timely

detection of tuberculosis, cancer and soil diseases<sup>10</sup>. Moreover, no satisfactory provision under the scheme has been provided for the rehabilitation of the disabled and incapacitated employees.

(b) Secondly, employees have expressed great dissatisfaction towards the way the dispensaries under the scheme are working. They have stated that the special attention which is expected of the doctors to treat patients is lacking in many cases. Several trade union leaders and employees themselves have complained of poor quality of medicines and inadequate medical care. Because of these, many have opined that unless the scheme is improved, the workers should be allowed to opt out of it.

(c) Lastly, in Orissa one finds a large number of small units employing even less than 20 workers. These have yet to be covered by the E. S. I. Scheme.

## VI

### A FEW RECOMMENDATIONS

The foregoing discussion on the working of the employees' State Insurance Scheme as a measure of social security convinces one that the scheme has achieved a good deal for the industrial workers in Orissa. Despite the commendable progress made under the scheme, its working can be improved further in the interest of the workers in general. In this direction the following recommendations are worth considering.

#### 1. Constitution of a Separate Cadre of Medical Officers :

Very often workers have complained of unsatisfactory treatment and services of the Insurance Medical Officers and also of poor quality medicines. These can be removed if the medical care under the E. S. I. Scheme is provided by the State Government through a separately constituted cadre of medical officers, committed to the service of insured persons. Sufficient monetary and other incentives should be provided to attract and retain competent doctors for the cadre.

#### 2. Periodical Examination of the Insured Persons :

The E.S.I. Corporation should make necessary arrangements for the periodical examination of the insured employees as a means of preventive measures for the medical benefit of the employees. At different industrial localities check-up units should be set up for the purpose. Further, a scheme should also be devised for proper rehabilitation of the disabled and incapacitated employees.

### 3. Setting up of Medical Enforcement Units :

Medical Enforcement Units at important centres be set up whose important task shall be to enquire immediately into the complaints received from the workers about the poor medicines and treatment.

### 4. Sharing Safety Promotion Activities :

Last but not the least, because of its interest in the measures for safety in industry and prevention of accidents, the Corporation's Regional Branch in Orissa should actively associate itself with the activities of the management and State Factory Inspectorate for the promotion of safety.<sup>11</sup> The Corporation should also invest a reasonable part of its funds in research on health and safety.

### R E F E R E N C E S

1. "All Areas" means the areas which can be brought under the scope of the E. S. I. Scheme.
2. Sickness signifies a state of health necessitating medical treatment and attendance and abstention from work on medical grounds.
3. Eligibility for sickness benefit demands that during any benefit period the weekly contributions should have been paid in respect of an insured person in the corresponding contribution period for at least 13 weeks.
4. Group A—(1) Tuberculosis, (2) Leprosy, (3) Mental Diseases, (4) Malignant Diseases, (5) Paraplegia, (6) Hemiplegia, (7) Chronic Congestive heart failure, (8) Immature cataract with vision 6/60 or less in the affected eye.  
Group B—(1) Bronchiectasis and Long abscess, (2) Myo Cardinal infarction, (3) Parkison's disease, (4) Ankylosing Spondylities, (5) Fracture of lower extremity. (6) Detachment of retina, etc.
5. 'Employment injury' means a personal injury caused to an employee by an accident or occupational diseases arising out of and in course of his employment in a factory.
6. Dependents entitled to benefit are :—
  - (a) Widow/widows during life or until remarriage.
  - (b) Legitimate or adopted son until age 18 or if legitimate son is infirm, till the infirmity lasts.
  - (c) Legitimate or adopted unmarried daughter until age 18 or until marriage, whichever is earlier, or if infirm, till infirmity lasts and she continues to be unmarried.
7. Statistical Abstract 1968-69 and 1969-70, E. S. I. Corporation, New Delhi.

8. The International Labour Organisation adopted in 1944 a Recommendation on Medical Care which laid down :— "The medical care service should cover all members of the community, whether or not they are gainfully occupied".  
—International Labour Code, Vol. I' 1951, p. 657.
9. Criminal abortion or miscarriage does not come within the scope of this definition.
10. Srivastava, P. C. Social Security in India, Lokbharati Publication, Allahabad, 1964, p. 262.
11. The National Commission on Labour 1969 had also recommended that the Corporation should make a suitable contribution to the National Safety Council as part of its programme of integrated preventive and curative services. Vide Report, p. 171.

#### SUMMARY

After a comprehensive review of the Indian laws on the subject "Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplaces" it is observed that the Indian laws are not very effective in dealing with the problem.

India has been working towards the establishment of a civil society structure. The Indian society is slow to show much moderation but, on the other hand, the Indian society has established a strong and stable civil society. The Indian society is not very effective in dealing with the problem of sexual harassment of women at work places.

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## A STUDY OF CURRICULAR PREFERENCE AS RELATED TO PARENTAL OCCUPATION

SRI S. SAMAL, M. ED., LECTURER

Govt. Training College, Sambalpur, Orissa.

### Introduction :

In recent years many studies have been made to find out the relationship between occupation of the parents and vocational choice of their off springs. Fryer (1939) states that the occupation of the father has been considered as a possible determiner of vocational interests. Studies of Davidson et al. (1937), Cricherner et al (1945) have shown the relationship between vocational interest and preference of boys and the parental occupation. Carp (1949) has given the evidence of the influence of occupational level of parents on the vocational choice of their sons and daughters.

It is a well established fact that the students choice of curricular subjects at different levels depends upon his socio-economic, educational and cultural back grounds. Various factors like parental occupation, general economic condition of the family, place of habitation, past academic achievement and sex difference influence the selection of subjects at different levels of study. Book (1922), Colvin and Mac Phail (1924), Livesay (1942), Hicks and Hayes (1938), Sister Columba (1926) have shown positive influence of sex difference in curricular preference. Most of the studies have been conducted at the School level. In India similar studies have been made by Mathew (1969), Jain (1959) at the Intermediate stage.

The purpose of the present study is to find out if there is any relationship between the parental occupation and the choice of curricular subjects.

### Method of study :

(a) **Sample :** All the 246 male and female students of the Pre-University Arts class of the local college were taken for the present study. All the students were of age level 16—18. Out of these 246 students 187 were male students and 59 were female students.

(b) **Procedure :** The data collected for the present study were taken from the proctorial sheets filled up by the students themselves and submitted at the time of admission. Among other informations, the proctorial sheets provided informations on selection of curricular subjects

and the occupation of father or guardian. The occupational groups were divided into three broad categories vis. service, business and agriculture. Each student was required to choose three out of eleven curricular subjects such as Economics, Logic, History, Psychology, Mathematics, Commerce Group, Geography, Education, Sanskrit, Oriya and Hindi.

**Result :**

The total number of students belonging to the three broad parental occupational groups vis. Service, Business and Agriculture were 102, 54 and 90 respectively. The percentage of students coming under these groups and offering different curricular subjects were found out and their departure from figure obtained on the basis of probability were studied by Chi square ( $\chi^2$ ) test to see if the parental occupation is a related factor to the curricular preference. The results were analysed in Table-I.

TABLE I

Subject	(1)			(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	% of students selecting the subject (classified according to the occupation of their parents or guardians) (a) Service (b) Business (c) Agriculture.			Chi-Square ( $\chi^2$ )	Level of Significance	Remarks	
	(a)	(b)	(c)				
(a) Economics	94.1	96.2	94.4	0.04	N.S.		
(b) Logic	78.4	53.7	84.4	4.42	N.S.		
(c) History	39.2	29.6	47.7	2.12	N.S.		
(d) Psychology	26.4	22.2	8.9	8.21	0.05		
(e) Mathematics	7.8	1.9	16.7	7.60	0.05		
(f) Commerce Group	10.8	37.0	8.9	17.57	0.01		
(g) Geography	7.8	1.9	6.7	1.99	N.S.		
(h) Education	5.9	1.9	6.7	1.73	N.S.		
(i) Sanskrit	3.9	5.6	5.6	0.45	N.S.		
(j) Oriya	13.7	9.3	11.1	0.58	N.S.		
(k) Hindi	0.9	3.7	0.00	2.00	N.S.		

( Degree of freedom 2 in each case )

The subjects in respect of which the Chi-square values were found to be significant were further analysed in Table II (a), (b) and (c) to

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TABLE II (a)

Subject	(1) % of students offering the subject and whose parental occupation is service	(2) % of students offering the subject and whose parental occupation is business	(4) Difference (2~3)	(5) Critical ratio (CR)	(6) Level of significance
(a) Psychology	26.4	22.2	4.2	0.53	N.S.
(b) Mathematics	7.8	1.9	5.9	1.55	N.S.
(c) Commerce Group	10.8	37.0	26.2	3.79	0.01

TABLE II (b)

Subject	(1) % of students offering the subject and whose parental occupation is service	(2) % of students offering the subject and whose parental occupation is agriculture	(4) Difference (2~3)	(5) Critical ratio (CR)	(6) Level of significance
(a) Mathematics	7.8	16.7	8.9	1.93	0.10
(b) Psychology	26.4	8.9	17.5	3.18	0.01
(c) Commerce Group	10.8	8.9	1.9	0.45	N.S.

TABLE II (c)

Subject	(1) % of students offering the subject and whose parental occupation is business	(2) % of students offering the subject and whose parental occupation is Agriculture	(4) Difference (2~3)	(5) Critical ratio (CR)	(6) Level of significance
(a) Mathematics	1.9	16.7	14.8	2.69	0.01
(b) Psychology	22.2	8.9	13.3	2.25	0.05
(c) Commerce Group	37.0	8.9	26.1	4.13	0.01

study the significance of the difference of percentages in respect of the above subjects in different pairs of parental occupational groups.

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**Discussion and Conclusion :**

1. From Table I it appears that the chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) values in respect of Psychology, Mathematics are significant at 0.05 level where as the significance level for Commerce group is 0.01. This indicates that parental occupation is a factor responsible for selection of above curricular subjects.

2. In Table II (a) the difference between the two per centages in respect of Commerce group ( $CR=3.79$ ) is significant at 0.01 level. This analysis shows that comparatively a greater number of students coming from Business Community have preference for commerce group of subjects.

3. Table II (b) shows that the difference between the two per centages in respect of Mathematics ( $CR=1.93$ ) and Psychology ( $CR=3.18$ ) are significant at 0.10 and 0.01 levels respectively.

It indicates that comparatively a greater number of students whose parental occupation is service have preference for psychology than the students whose parental occupation is agriculture. The trend of choice is just reverse in respect of Mathematics but the difference is not so much significant.

4. In Table II (c) the difference of percentages in respect of all the three subjects i. e. Mathematics ( $CR=2.69$ ), Psychology ( $CR=2.25$ ) and Commerce group ( $CR=4.13$ ) are significant. This analysis shows that comparatively more students coming from the business community tend to offer Psychology and Commerce group of subjects than their counter parts coming from agricultural community. But in choice of Mathematics as a curricular subject the trend is just reverse.

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'PROMISE', NOT 'APPEAL': A STUDY OF *A PASSAGE TO INDIA*

MADHUSUDAN PATI

Department of English, Sambalpur University

Both in its structure and content *A Passage to India* presents a multiverse, and it realises Forster's ideal of a musical novel-form. Equally for those who discover in it an 'absurd' or nihilistic scheme, and those who hold that it mirrors a profoundly religious or prophetic vision, the novel has offered a rich quarry of suitable meanings and suggestions. Its multi-dimensional quality has afforded an opportunity of presenting Forster as uneasily poised among truths of different worlds and morality of various kinds. While, on the one hand, his attempt is viewed in terms of what he propounded in *Howards End* as the ideal approach to truth<sup>1</sup> and, therefore, as an enduring and responsible attitude, on the other hand, it is taken as an index of moral confusion or aesthetic failure. Paradoxically enough, therefore, its profundity and wide tonal range have brought about a critical uncertainty about the novel. When one takes an over-view of critical comments on *A Passage to India* one reckons with the same kind of extreme assertions as in the case of *Hamlet*. Emerging from much the same kind of arguments it, too, is established as either a surpassingly profound creation or an artistic failure. For instance, Forster's "rhythmic" manipulation of symbols constitutes for some a richly organised and illuminating experience, but others have found in them a cause for critical complaint. But even those who argue that the various strands in the novel are fused into a superb aesthetic whole reveal considerable uneasiness over some comments and observations in it which are felt to be at variance with the predominantly affirmative quality of its mystical vision.<sup>2</sup>

It is the purpose of this paper to examine some such material that are frequently cited in building a case on *A Passage* as a negative document or in maintaining that these undermine Forster's myth on India and produce a tonal and thematic incongruity. The paper would attempt to locate the point of critical confusion and to show that the positive emphasis issuing out of the mythical structure and the visionary materials of the novel does not suffer any reversal because of the ironical comments so liberally strewn through it by Forster.

A proper response to the last section of the novel—*Temple*—is of crucial importance in fixing one's perspective. It is here that all the earlier strands are being attempted into a harmonious symphony.

This is not merely the climax of the story, but is also the testing ground for all the diverse values and attitudes projected through the earlier sections. Reuben A. Brower, discussing the Temple-symbolism,<sup>3</sup> starts by recognising that (only) 'from the western point of view (italics mine) the Gokul Ashtami celebrations indicate a "frustration of reason and form"'. But he finds the symbol to be "crudely ironic", and goes on to assert :

Its two-fold meaning is expressed very well in the final picture of Fielding's and Aziz's relationship. For a brief time, after being reconciled during the jumble of the Hindu ceremony, they are friends ; but their friendship, like the unity of India, is unstable ..... The temple is a symbol of Hindu-Unity in love which is no unity.

One would consider it a strange finding, indeed, when one remembers that Forster is creating the mystique of the Gokul Ashtami only after diversely revealing through the long expanse of the two preceding sections an ultimate sense of futility and superciliousness in the ideals of "reason and form". The mysterious hauntings and titillations repeatedly experienced by the three major English characters in *Mosque* and *Caves*<sup>4</sup>—experiences which, on occasions, lead each of them to profound perceptions of the hollowness of their moral professions and aesthetic choices—find in *Temple* a symbolic embodiment in the Hindu ritual. The comic-ironic view which sharply alternates with the poetic-symbolic representation of the ritual is there, not so much to undercut the validity of the symbol as to reveal the difficulty, and even danger, of appreciating it through the Western point of view. Forster repeatedly confronts us with the mysterious power of the ritual. It suffuses the faces of the ignorant villagers ("clots") with a peculiar radiance and makes them temporarily transcend the ordinariness of their personality and environment (P. 280). Irrespective of all temporal divisions a pervasive grace influences everyone's conduct and response during the festivities at Mau (P. 300). Forster wants the reader to appreciatively note that Hinduism is still so much of a "living force" that it can make men "fling down everything that is petty and temporary in their natures" ; even the competition for an earthly crown is then laid aside by the princes of Mau in obeisance to the prevailing mood of religiousness. (P. 299) Differences between a king and a commoner no longer count on this occasion, and human brotherhood is realised both at the level of spirit and conduct. Crowning it all, there is the splendid moment of Godbole's spiritual elevation which buries all earthly differences and cancels out, as it were, the nihilistic

terror of the Marabar at one stroke, (P. 285-6) (It is wrong to connect the 'stone' which Godbole cannot propel towards God with the intractable 'rocks' of Marabar. That Godbole cannot succeed in impelling the inanimate object with any spiritual fervour is a mark of his own limitations, as he himself realises. (P. 286) Forster has not treated in him a Hindu Philosopher or a Saint ; the character represents a kind of saintliness and a certain philosophical grasp which can be acquired from the culture by any educated Hindu devotee.)

It is significant that even the non-believers are touched and stirred. Dr. Aziz is astonished to find the impact of the ritual on social behaviour. He cannot understand Hinduism, but everytime he confronts Godbole he feels like a child in the presence of some profound mystery. The *Temple* also affects him at a deeper personal level. He cannot but respond to certain mysterious intimations that it sends out and undergoes a fine moral transformation, almost inspite of himself. That a subtle force was propelling him into a mood of friendliness and charity is conveyed by Forster through (apart from the overt symbols of water, tank and temple) superbly dramatic touches : Once, when he "almost certainly" heard in the interstices of the chantings of 'Radhakrishna' the "Syllables of Salvation" (P. 308) which had vibrated within him at the moment of his liberation in the court ; and, again, during the ride with Fielding, the 'sound' that flitted past him (P. 315) and lifted him to an exalted mood of charity and love. Instead of a person consumed with suspicion and hatred, he now mellows into a true heir of Mrs. Moore. (In fact, it is only in *Temple* that Aziz fully realizes the significance of his love for Mrs. Moore.) The most thrilling and dramatic rendering of this change comes when he finally accepts that the "wretched business of the Marabar" is truly "wiped out" and impulsively adds in his letter to Adela :

For my own part, I shall henceforth connect you with the name that is most sacred in my mind, namely, Mrs. Moore. (P. 315).

True, he cannot retain his mental elevation for long ; but, as in the case of Godbole, each receives the ministration of the *Temple* only "according to his capacities".

A similar, though equally limited, awakening is reserved for Fielding, the other non-believer (he calls himself an "atheist"). He does not understand Hinduism ; is not curious to. To him, "mystery" is simply a high-sounding term for "muddle". But here at Mau he perceives deep inside him, beyond the pale of "reason and form," that there is something really significant and soothing about Hinduism—

something which he could not understand, but which, all the same, has brought about a definite psychological and spiritual improvement in his wife and her brother. He finds his conjugal life for the first time truly "blessed" through the ministration of the Temple. This realisation complements an earlier experience of his in *Caves* when he had a romantic, mythopoeic vision of the Marabar hills. He had felt them moving towards him "graciously. .... like a queen" and a few moments later, under the "cool benediction of the night", he had perceived that "the whole universe was a hill".<sup>5</sup> A "lovely, exquisite moment" but it made him "dubious and discontented suddenly":

.....as the moment passed, he felt he ought to have been working at something else the whole time—he did not know at what, never would know, never could know, and that was why he felt sad. (Last paragraph, chapter XX)

The failure imposes a severe limitation on his character. Of necessity, he has to retreat into his former self and cling tenaciously to his customary ideals of liberal humanism. The *Temple* offers him yet another opportunity, inspite of the fact that he has in a certain sense already deteriorated from his previous excellence.

It is in the context of these personal limitations of the two friends as well as the inhibited socio political frame within which alone they wish to operate ("Leave Krishna alone, and talk about something sensible", said Aziz) that the entire landscape seems to point out the futility of their endeavour at establishing a true rapport. Further, the various objects that rise to their view and seem to convey a negative verdict are meant to work as a dramatic mode for bringing to the surface the inner mood and realisation of the characters ; they are a device for conveying a total sense of disenchantment which takes hold of their hearts. These should not be affirmed as an authorial summing up of final negation, brought home through the concentrated power of all the symbols that had been created earlier through the novel for evoking possibilities of union. Brower's conclusion (and that of Gertrude M. White)<sup>6</sup> would, therefore, seem to be a misleading consequence of imposing on the *Temple* the moods and personalities of characters who have failed to properly absorb its ministrations, and, thus, the reverse of what the author intended.

With slightly different emphasis Frederick C. Crew leads the novel towards an identical conclusion :

There is no escaping the impression that Hinduism is treated with considerable sympathy in *A Passage to India* ; Its

Its chief function, however, seems to be to discredit the Christian and Moslem emphasis on personality.....when the question of mystical union arises Forster becomes evasive in the extreme. Gokul Ashtami, he remarks, presents "emblems of a passage ; a passage not easy, not now, not here, not to be apprehended except when it is unattainable". Although Hinduism offers the most engaging fable to describe our isolation from meaning, it, too, like Islam and Christianity, seems powerless before the nihilistic message of the Marabar Caves.<sup>7</sup>

A conclusion such as this can be appropriated for the novel only by omitting the scene at Fielding's tea-party ("No ripple disturbed the water, no leaf stirred"), the achievement of Godbole ("completeness, not reconstruction"), and the final chapters where Forster represents Adela, Stelia, Fielding and Aziz as having realised that the effect of the Marabar was completely "wiped out". That Godbole, the unheroic representative of Hinduism, understands the Marabar and is, therefore, beyond any nihilistic terrors it might have contained is clear to us right from the chapter on Fielding's tea-party in *Mosque*. In fact, it is Forster's constant effort to indirectly suggest that very much because of his absence—that is to say, because of the non-availability of the shield of Hinduism—Mrs. Moore and Adela feel so very helpless at the Marabar. Godbole's conduct at the tea-party and his equipoise during the aftermath to the disastrous expeditions—so very titillating to the ladies on the earlier occasion, and so exasperating to Fielding on the latter—leave no doubts on this score. Again, the psychic tremors that Mrs. Moore and Adela undergo in the caves issue, not so much from the Marabar being naturally and positively malevolent as from their own metaphysical or emotional deficiencies. It is interesting to note that in the very passage from which Crews quotes, Forster has presented a woman singing in ecstasy of the "God without attributes"—a God, to whom, too, "nothing attaches"—and has also put in a significant statement that the jumble of the different tunes from men and nature at that time excluded only one note, that of "terror" (P. 309).

The Marabar, from the perspective of the *Temple*, is no longer terrifying or imponderable. It can now be viewed as the primal, attributeless entity with which creation began, a world where everything existed but nothing mirrored our values. Any attempt at reducing it to the level of human values would only reveal with explosive force the utter flimsiness and arbitrariness of human judgement. It would shatter the shallowness and complacency involved in anthropomorphism and the world-view developed out of an exclusive humanism. Unlike

the simplistic values of Christianity or of Islam ("black against white, the ninety-nine attributes of God"), Hinduism admits the nameless, the attributeless entity into its metaphysic. Even evil can be understood in terms of the "absence" of God, and not conveniently rejected as a "non-existence." Hinduism knows how to adjust the "finite" and "petty" which "robbed infinity and eternity of their vastness" into its cosmic scheme. Therefore, the Marabar holds no terrors for one sharing in the spirit of the *Temple*.

Further, the Marabar is not an essentially malevolent thing. It works like an X'ray mirror, functioning only as an instrument of reflection or exposure ; by itself, it is neither beneficial nor baneful. And, again, it does not have a "nihilistic message". While Mrs. Moore has her anti-vision, Adela has only a hallucination of attempted rape. Dr. Aziz and his attendants undergo no unpleasant experiences whatsoever. To them, the "serpent made of maggots" (P. 203) indicates no eternal negation, and the echo brings nothing sinister. They experience those as some interesting patterns of colour and sound—interesting, but nothing particularly "uncanny" or "extraordinary". That is another reason why the reputation of the caves does not depend on human speech, the "extraordinariness" is not verifiable.

Both women undergo terrible sufferings in the wake of their experiences in the caves. Adela commits evil by accusing Dr. Aziz and fulfilling Godbole's prophecy that both the good and evil actions of an individual express and involve the whole of mankind ; this evil now spreads through the whole of Chandrapore. One should, however, be clear about both the cause and consequence of the suffering of Adela and Mrs. Moore. They suffer because of their own weakness ; Marabar was only a magnifying backdrop. Moreover, this suffering at the human level has been quite rewarding to both of them. Mrs. Moore would have matured towards "vision" as against her "nightmare" or "anti-vision". Marabar would have given place to Asirgarh. But she does not have the time to realise that fulfilment in her own mortal frame. Nevertheless, she has her spiritual compensation—Hinduism believes in its possibilities even after the mortal frame is dissolved. She is lowered into the Indian ocean, and, thereafter, she is apotheosized into a haunting spiritual entity. Godbole's vision of her implies Mrs. Moore's Hindu-fulfilment. Very much as the comic "God is love" does not detract from Godbole's spiritual success, so also Forster's talk about Mrs. Moore-legend, or the parody in the Esmiss-Essmore chant, does not refute the symbolic absorption of Mrs. Moore into the spirit of India and of Hinduism, in particular.

What about Adela Quested ? Plain and honest, she is also a 'prig', as Fielding tells Aziz. She is emotionally and sexually repressed

and is all the time preoccupied with her petty plans, her shifting moods and her shallow personal relationships. The desire to "see India" is, in fact, a superfluous one and is a part of her debate on the proposed marriage with Ronny. She hardly understands the meaning of love. She is altogether limited to the world of social behaviour and animal thrill. It is, therefore, dramatically appropriate that she suffers the hallucination of rape. But in wrongfully, through innocently, accusing Aziz, 'she has started the machinery' of evil, as Mrs. Moore bitterly comments (P. 201) and that is why she undergoes a prolonged period of suffering. The 'echo' was sent out by both her repressed humanity as well as her unrealised burden of guilt—the Marabar, once again, is an impartial point of reference. It is significant that she realises the true approach to the Marabar during her cross-examination in the court, and experiences a psychological and moral revision. Returning to it again in her mind, free from her own selfish solicitudes, she is now astounded to find in the Marabar a thing of beauty :

.....but now she was of it and not of it at the same time, and this double relation gave it indescribable splendour.  
• Why had she thought the expedition 'dull' ? Now the sun rose again, the elephant waited, the pale masses of the rock flowed round her and presented the first cave ; she entered and a match was reflected in the polished wall—all beautiful and significant, though she had been blind to it at the time. (P. 221).

All healthy visions require this "double relation"—one must transcend one's limited rational faculties and only when this spiritual detachment from one's small, petty 'ego' or social personality is achieved, one would organically capture all the beautiful and significant things. One would even catch "the message" of the arid plains, and instead of a terrifying hallucination, the Marabar would then present its "indescribable splendour".

Adela's suffering has not been in vain. She has now a morally enhanced being. It is significant that she decides thereafter to take on the unfinished job of Mrs. Moore. Her duty is no longer to herself ; she would strive to live and plan for others, and, thereby, live a spiritually richer life. Though we do not see her again, we witness her fulfilment in *the Temple*. The two women who came to India as companions, and for a time, were physically and psychologically removed from each other, now achieve a peculiar identification and merger in the heart of Dr. Aziz—a person with whom the central episode in their life in India was so inextricably linked. At one level, this is the spiritual drama of the two visitors from the west.

It would be wrong to think that either Mrs. Moore or Adela suffered any essential loss because of the Marabar ; if they had escaped their deep exposure in the caves, they would have lived and died as spiritually bankrupt as before.

To persist, in the face of all these, in asserting the overwhelming preponderance of the Marabar's "nihilism" and the "powerlessness" of Hinduism is to invite the derisive dismissal of the palm trees :

So you thought an echo was India ; you took the Marabar caves as final ? They laughed. What have we in common with them, or they with Asirgarh ? Good-bye ! (P. 205)

Coming to the authorial comments on the well-nigh 'unattainable' quality of the 'passage' which Crews quotes, it is one of many negations strewn throughout the novel ; but they are negations which emerge either from limitations of the personalities or situations involved, or, as here, from the limitations of the liberal—humanistic vision itself. These are meant to be modified by, and not to cancel out, the symbolism of Mystery which the novel aspires to understand. This aspiration may not have been fully realised, and yet, the positive affirmations on that suprarational order remain a vitally active principle of the novel. But even very notably perceptive and comprehensive interpretations of the novel, such as that of Malcolm Bradbury, tend to gather from the ironical or negative comments a wrong kind of finality. We have examined some such comments on the *Caves* and *The Temple* which are of frequent occurrence in critical literature. We might now turn our attention to some examples which show the inaccurate transference of emphasis from incidents of the earlier sections to the *Temple*.

Bradbury writes :—

Forster attempts a structure inclusive of the range of India, and the judgements of the book are reinforced by the festivals and rituals of the three religions, by the heterodoxy.... of this multiple nation, and by the physical landscape of a country which both invites meaning ('come, come') and denies any ('Nothing embraces the whole of India, nothing, nothing', says Aziz) ; the landscape and the spirit of the earth divide men (..... "the spirit of the Indian earth which tries to keep men in compartments") and even the sects are divided within themselves just as the earth is : 'The fissures of the Indian soil are infinite ; Hinduism, so solid from a distance, is riven into sects'....etc.<sup>8</sup>

And, again :

There is much in India that invites a cosmic meaning, but it places both man and infinity : 'Trees of a poor quality bordered the road, indeed the whole scene was inferior, and suggested that the countryside was too vast to admit of excellence.....In vain did each item in it call out, 'come, come'. There was not enough god to go round. The two young people conversed feebly and felt unimportant'.<sup>9</sup>

Emphasis of this kind goes to condition the rendering of the final section and Bradbury, (like Gertrude M. white) while being fully responsive to its powerful mysticism, still feels that the comicirony therein is meant to, and does, undermine the Temple-symbolism :

.....As for the symbolist plot, it transcends but it does not redeem ; it is there but 'neglects to come'.....(P. 78)  
 .....The world stretches infinitely about us and there is infinity beyond us. But questions bring us only to the unyielding hostility of the soil and the unyielding ambiguity of the sky.....Isn't the novel not Forster's *Passage to India*, but rather, in the end, Forester's *Moby Dick* ? 10

*A Passage to India*, as everyone agrees, is not structured only as a linear sequence. Therefore, *the Temple* is not merely a conclusion of what happened in *Mosque* and *Caves*, but is also meant to be the final touchstone with which the earlier sections are to be revalued and reorganised. To accept the perspectives and judgements of *Mosque* and *Caves* as unalterable entities that deserve to be uncritically placed alongside *the Temple* as its conditioning factors is to reverse the process Forster established, and violate its symphonic pattern. The 'hostility', 'divisiveness' or 'multiplicity' of the soil and its religion are an identity discovered through *emotional* and *intellectual* approaches. The "all-inclusiveness" and "completeness" of the Gokul Ashtami celebrations are meant to rectify and transcend those. 'Compartments' and 'sects' are no longer material factors in the spiritual mood fostered by the festival. Godbole the Brahman may not touch a Muslim but he meets him at a deeper level of true sympathy and fellow feeling ; during his ecstasy, he would completely free himself from all socio-racial prejudices. He would succeed in creating in himself a mood of divine impartiality and propel a Christian and a wasp with equal fervour towards his God. All human differences would melt at the ceremony, the king would conduct himself like a commoner and the lowest of the menials would be an equally holy participant. Finally, it would touch and chasten everyone, and the waters of Mau would drown—be it only

temporarily—all racial and individual differences. That Hinduism both chastens and redeems is certain ; what remains uncertain is the 'reconstruction' of its organisation and significance. At the conclusion of the ceremony, logic and reason would seduce us back to the ordinary earth and from the liberal-humanist perspective Forster would attempt a summing-up :

The singing went on longer.....ragged edges of religion .....unsatisfactory and undramatic tangles.....('God si Love'). Looking back at the great blur of the last twenty-four hours, no man could say where was the emotional centre of it, any more than he could locate the heart of a cloud. (P. 316).

Such efforts at capturing its mysterious and spiritual quality through logic and external observation would only bring us some 'unsatisfactory and undramatic tangles', because the nature of the attempt—fixing the heart of a cloud—is itself questionable." The fabric of mystic—symbolism might defy analysis but its splendour, however fitfully apprehended, remains a compelling and reassuring prospect.

An analysis of the second quotation from Bradbury would take us to the manner in which the force of affirmation latent in the Temple-symbolism has been diluted by critics. Now, the novel has repeatedly exposed the danger inherent in one's predilection for seeking truth only in the company of 'beauty' and 'form'. The limitations which inevitably involve the human patterning of beauty and proportion are an awfully inhibiting factor : that was the explosive exposure at the Marabar. The basic difficulty which the caves constituted for the English women was that one could not 'romanticise' those. The Marabar is repeatedly described as being "romantic" from the distance ; it was this quality which had allured them to it. They thought it must have some easily-categorisable meaning. The difficulty of Adela, in particular, was that she could not cope with the 'pomper, pomper, pomper' of the branchline train. The message of the arid plains—"for it had one", asserts Forster—"avoided her well-equipped mind" (P. 135). And hence she was to feel a strange deadening of spirit as she approached the Marabar. In the extract under analysis an exactly similar kind of judgement is intended by Forster.<sup>12</sup> The two young persons always need the support of 'beauty' and 'form'—only when something "admits of excellence"—to enshrine their gods. But the landscape is both vast and unromantic. They can not respond to its invitation, and because of their inner deficiency feel feeble and unimportant. Clearly, it is passing moral judgement on the characters. And, hence, the comment with which Bradbury introduces it and suggests a kind of cosmic—

disenchantment is hardly warranted by the extract. Similarly, Aziz's comment that "nothing embraces India" is an index of his ignorance, but, again, the comment is given the status of an aphorism, and a wrong kind of emphasis is carried into the final section.

Critical emphasis on the 'negations' in the novel seem, therefore, to have a common source—that of averring to the apparent and conditional judgements in it as final and unqualified ; and, thereby, wrongly transferring the authorial comments from either one of the inter—penetrating, but differently evaluated, levels of individual, social, political and metaphysical worlds on to the companion levels. Each of the sections provides comments and episodes conveying both positive affirmations and negations. But, while the prospects seem to be equally poised between union and conflict in *Mosque*, and leaning towards negation in the *Caves*, in the final section the swing is clearly and emphatically towards harmony and hope.

A final judgement on the novel would acquire validity, it appears, only when one responds to its various statements and suggestions by constantly keeping in mind the fundamental distinction which exists between the imagination which poetically perceives (Much of *A Passage* is clearly poetic) and the other level of the imagination which understands and interprets. The poetic apprehensions of Forster in relation to the mystical and metaphysical meanings offered by India, and his appreciation of those in terms of his 'liberal imagination' are almost constantly concurrent in large chunks of the novel ; but they widely differ in the matters of operation and evaluation. While there is a gallant and painstaking effort on his part at conveying the profundities offered by India in rational, concrete terms there is also the realisation that much of it defies logical articulation. Mrs Moore almost echoes Forster's own helplessness when she exclaims bitterly :

'Say, say, say,'.....' 'As if anything can be said' (P. 195)

All brave endeavours by the different characters in the novel to summarise India and her manifold significances are shown to be futile. In the process, they merely reveal their own limitations. Again and again, Forster leads us away from rashly concluding that India has no real mystery. Muddle or mystery ?

.....they could not tell. Perhaps the hundred Indias which fuss and squabble so tiresomely are one, and the universe they mirror is one. They had not the apparatus for judging. (P. 256)

While through the western scheme of things the ambiguities and comic confusions obtaining in India are highlighted with strokes of inimitable irony, there is a recurrent pattern in turning the joke against

the other side and insistently suggesting the depravity and danger inherent in such approaches. Time and again, the judge is adjudged and found awfully wanting. Indeed, the irony in *Temple* can partly be understood as a defence—mechanism for the liberal imagination. But India understands their troubles, he assures. "She understands the whole world's trouble, to its uttermost depths. She calls 'come' through her hundred mouths, through objects ridiculous and august", (P. 135) That she has not defined the object of the invitation and, hence, is 'an appeal' rather than a 'promise' is, in reality, a statement of the seeker's failure at penetration. The "irritable itching after reason and form", "the itch for the seemly" (P. 145) has to be surrendered, first of all. That is the precondition. But Forster the agnostic—humanist liberal can hardly suppress the 'itch'. Although he appreciates that Godbole's cultured equipoise and spiritual exaltation embody one of the most captivating things about India, he finds it difficult to overcome his latent discomfort with a scheme that would not cater to logic and proportion, and, therefore, for all the haunting delineation of his feeling of enchantment, there is also a nagging note of dissatisfaction that inspite of his refusal to come, one has to go on inviting Krishna (P. 78)—"the Friend who never comes, yet is not entirely disproved". (P. 103) The enchantment is compellingly conveyed, the profound promise is excitedly prepared for, but the final surrender is not achieved. So, instead of the consummation of the vision, there is a sense of recoil from it. He is not willing like a Godbole to brave—what the West could call—a "frustration of reason and form" (P. 280); the nostalgia in him for the Mediterranean norm is still very compelling. Hence, too, the final meaning eludes him. But the nature of the endeavour, the pressure of the emotional expectation built behind it, the poetic rendering of the fleeting vision, a fundamental faith that India stands for something truly profound and exalted—these, by themselves, constitute the enduring affirmations of the novel. If the ultimate meaning has eluded him, it is so not only because an esoteric truth can not be fully expounded to the uninitiated, but—more importantly—because it can not be thoroughly explored in the medium of a novel :

Books written afterwards say 'yes'. But how, if there is such an event, can it be remembered afterwards ? How can it be expressed in anything but itself ? Not only from the unbeliever are mysteries hid, but the adept himself cannot retain them. (P. 283)

It can only be suggested through the manipulation of poetic devices, and the novel is replete with such moments of lyrical evocation. Those devices are sufficiently powerfully orchestrated through the

rhythm of words and symbols to persuade one that Forster's exploration has not at all been futile or altogether hazy.

There is, then, a constant manipulation of a double vision, but the end is not negation nor contradiction. The final harmony and ultimate understanding has not been achieved 'yet', one reason being that it cannot be achieved 'there' in the novel. The invigorating possibilities of such a profound realisation, later and else where, have been forcefully evoked and to that extent *A Passage* leads up to a positive and significant affirmation of faith and hope.

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References to the text are from the Penguin International Edition, 1970. To facilitate easy reference, the critical comments under discussion, wherever possible, are quoted from *A Passage to India : A Selection of Critical Essays*, edited by Malcolm Bradbury (published by Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1970, (paperback) for the Casebook Series). Notes would refer to it simply as *Casebook*.

1. "No, truth, being alive, was not half-way between anything. It was only to be found by continuous excursion into either realm, and though proportion is the final secret, to espouse it at the outset is to insure sterility." (*Howards End*, Ch. XXIII).
2. It would be helpful to record a few such examples here. The sources in the text, on which the critics qualify their reading of the novel's affirmative quality, would provide further point of reference for the arguments in the present essay.

(a) John Beer comments :

"Godbole's song may express the yearning of India, but the spirit of love which he also represents cannot cope with the intractability of the caves." (*Casebook*, P. 195)

In order to accommodate the negations in the novel into a harmonious presence with the spiritual affirmations, Beer utilises Forster's comment on 'continuous excursions' (Note 1), and assumes that both the negation of the *Caves* and the assertion of hope in *Temple* represent two equally valid, mutually exclusive truths about India. *A Passage* constitutes for him only an "exploration of extremes".

(b) Admirably presenting the novel's prophetic vision as one of clarity as well as hope, James Mc Conkey, too, has some reservations. Far instance, he concludes from certain statements in the novel that in *A Passage* Mother Earth had turned hostile to man. More seriously, he alleges that the delineation of Godbole and the comic touches on the Gokul Ashtami celebrations impair the positive quality of the vision ;

....."; thus the detachment and self-abnegation of Godbole are qualities which impart to him his extensive, through necessarily incomplete, sense of love and unity—even as they have always been the qualities of the Forsterian voice, imparting much the same incomplete vision". (*Casebook*, P. 160)

(c) The study by E. K. Brown in (*Rhythm in the Novel*) forcefully emphasises the emergence of 'order' at the end of the novel. But one can notice two main points at which he feels obliged to tamper his affirmation :

"For the meanings of India are indistinct and repetitive. Until the western visitor can make something of the indistinctness indefinitely repeated, he can neither comprehend any of the meanings of India nor begin to cope with them. India, says Forster, is not a promise, it is nothing so definite, it is only an appeal." (*Casebook*, P. 101)

"Then the final reminder, that good has merely obliged evil to recede as good receded before evil a little before." (*Casebook*, P. 112)

(d) Of all books on *A Passage to India* Wilfred Stone's *The Cave and the Mountain*, while emphasizing the affirmative quality of Forster's vision, also provides the most satisfactorily integrated interpretation of the various strands in the novel. But even there some of the traditional misunderstandings recur :

'Even Godbole, the Brahman, is separated from his God. In Fielding's house he sings a song to Shrikrishna, in which he mimes a milk-maid imploring the God to come : "come, come, come, come, come. He neglects to come." ' (P. 319)

Also, 'The festival, as we would expect, is all nonsense to Fielding and Aziz. "Oh, shut up", says Aziz to his friend on the last ride. "Leave Krishna alone, and talk about something sensible". So they talk of politics'. (P. 334)

Wilfred Stone, *The Cave and The Mountain*.

Oxford University Press, London, (Reprinted, 1969)

3. *Casebook*, P. 127 (From, *Fields of Light*, Reuben A. Brower)
4. *A Passage to India* (Penguin International Edition, 1970)—P. 26, 30, 45, 51, 78, 86, 94, 115, 135, 136, 148, 187, 203, 204, 212, 221, 242, 257, 269. These occur in the form of suggestions, pictures, or thoughts, and partake of different moods. But they share the common function of confronting the characters with elements of a higher world which they have missed, ignorantly rejected or failed to understand. *Temple* is meant to provide the necessary perspective for correcting this imbalance in their character or vision.
5. Later, he remembers seeing "the fists and fingers of the Marabar swell until they included the whole sky". (Last Lines, Ch. XXVI). But he fails to realize its significance and ascribes it to the insane view of things one sometimes has at moments of great physical and mental fatigue. 'It is a prophetic vision, for what happens in *Temple*, is reconciliation on the human level the cancelling of the effects of the Marabar. Reconciliation, not real union ; that is not possible on earth, whatever may be the truth about the universe of which earth is only an atom. The hundred voices of India say, "No, not yet," and the sky says, "No, not there." '
6. "A Passage to India : Analysis and Revaluation", *Casebook*, P. 145
7. *Casebook*, P. 176-7.
8. *ibid*, P. 233-4
9. *ibid*, P. 234
10. *ibid*, P. 241

11. Some familiarity with the fundamentals of Hindu philosophy would seem to be essential for responding to Forster's myth of the *Temple*. It is interesting to note that interpretations of *A Passage* which succeed in harmonising the diverse thematic and structural elements into a unity invariably take recourse to some Hindu concepts. Apart from the authors quoted above, one might mention Glen O' Allen, (Structure, Symbol and Theme in E. M. Forster's '*A Passage to India*', P. M. L. A., Dec, 1955) who interprets it in terms of the Three Paths of 'Karma Yoga', 'Jnana Yoga', and Bhakti-Yoga'.

Similarly, a recent interpretation of *A Passage*, Jean E. Kennard's "*A Passage to India*, and Dickinson's 'Saint At Benares'" (*Studies in the Novel*, Winter 1973, Vol. 5, No. 4) affirms Forster's leaning towards Hinduism and uses the Vedantic Symbol of the Tree (much like Wilfred Stone making use of the concept of the "World Mountain") to explain the novel's structure and theme. He provides biographical evidence to show that the philosophical implications of the Tree-Symbol were learnt from a saint at Benares ; hence, the title of his essay.

This, however, does not mean that a critic with Indian background would necessarily appreciate the "Promise" of *A Passage* better than his Western counterpart. To the present author most of the Indian critics, too, seem misled by Forster's irony and design. Not to speak of Nirad C. Chowdhury's grossly political interpretation, even those critics emphasising the novel's moral and metaphysical insights reveal hesitations and inhibitions of the kind being discussed in this essay. See, for example, K. Viswanatham, *India in English Fiction*, Andhra University Press, 1971. His chapter on Forster has the Sub-title : "The Desperate View". V. A. Shahane's *E. M. Forster : A Reassessment* (Kitab Mahal, 1962) is a refreshing departure. His contentions, in some way, are similar to the appreciation of *Temple* which is being offered here. But he does not answer many of the questions raised by critics affirming the 'negations' in *A Passage*.

12. This is comparable to the other comment which has already been discussed : "In vain did each item in it call out 'come, come'. There was not enough god to go round." John Beer, quoting this extract, rightly points out that, "The outward scene here expresses their own inward landscape, from which the visionary sun-god of love is absent." *Case book*, P. 196

## IMPACT OF INTEGRATION OF THE INDIAN STATES ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ORISSA.

Sri R. N. MISHRA,

Lecturer in Political Science, Rajendra College, Bolangir, Orissa.

**Abstract :** This article has focused on the impact of the merger on some aspects of political change in the State. In the first instance, social, economic and institutional diversities of the ex-Princely States have manifested themselves in the pattern of electoral behaviour of the masses, formerly held under the sway of feudal rule. Despite some changes in the electoral behaviour of masses, it still continues to effect the present-day politics to a large extent. Secondly, different movements at the time of integration of the States have given rise to a sense of regional rivalry between the developed Plains and the undeveloped Highlands. Thirdly, the integration has cost a great impact on the rise of the main opposition-party and the patterns of Coalitional politics of the State.

The integration of the Indian States, comprising two-fifths of the land and the liquidation of the Princely order, which constituted the third line of defence of the imperial rule in India, so labouriously worked out by the British, has influenced to a large extent the political system of the Indian Union. Integration either in the sense of physical merger with a neighbouring province or consolidation into a separate Union of States, was more in the nature of an opportunity than a fulfilment.<sup>1</sup> In a number of States the political development associated with the utilisation of this opportunity by the masses has received scientific treatments in a number of scholarly works. Unfortunately, the Orissa States where the twin process of integration and democratisation had its 'small beginnings'<sup>2</sup> have remained neglected. The process which shaped the democratic values and norms in a cluster of small States merged with the adjoining autonomous provinces of former British India, with their varied stages of developments has conditioned some remarkable political developments in the States concerned<sup>3</sup> but it makes a fascinating study in Orissa in the context of its social and economic backwardness and chronic political instability.

In Orissa the integration involved an area of 28,457 square miles which almost doubled the size of the former province and presented a model of merger of small States on 1st January, 1948 to the princely States elsewhere in India. Recognised by the British as feudatory States

in 1888, on the eve of merger the twenty-four Eastern States had been placed under three Political Agencies, viz (i). The Bengal States Agency which included Mayurbhanj with two Bengal States with its headquarters at Calcutta, (ii) The Chhatisgarh States Agency which included Kalahandi and Patna along with fourteen Central Provinces States with its headquarters at Raipur, and (iii) The Orissa States Agency which included 23 Orissa States with its headquarters at Sambalpur. All these states were very small States holding ordinary sanads like some of the estates formerly merged in the Province. The biggest among them was Mayurbhanj with an area of 4,243 square miles and the smallest Tigria with an area of 46 square miles only. Geographically the States were contiguous to the Province of Orissa and covered a large tract of hilly and forest areas. Due to political isolation and lack of direct communication facilities, the people of the States had some differences in their social, economic and political conditions which have influenced, to a large extent, their subsequent political behaviour.

In the first place, quite a large section of the population was primitive and constituted a large number of tribal and aboriginal races which were yet to see the light of civilisation. In the States of Mayurbhanj alone the tribal population was as high as 68% of the State population. The total backward class population of the ex-states constituted 51% of their total population in 1951. The backwardness of the ex-states was characterised by low income levels, higher dependence of the population on poorly developed agriculture, larger proportions of population belonging to Scheduled Tribes, lack of urbanisation, inadequate infra-structure etc.<sup>5</sup>

In the context of their backwardness, the prevailing land revenue systems which were instrumental in bringing about a graded social structure, deserve a brief reference. Owing to their inclusion in different political Agencies from time to time, the States had no uniform system of land-revenue and there prevailed in the States as many as twenty-four different systems which were more or less adaptations of the land revenue systems of Bihar and Central Provinces to suit the local needs of the native States. The petty rulers who hewed out kingdoms for themselves though they imported a higher civilisation into these backward areas did not at first seem to have taken any step to introduce any organised system of management and it was very likely that the old tribal system of villages managed almost entirely by village head-men survived undisturbed for a considerable period. All that the early rulers were interested primarily was to obtain sufficient revenue for themselves and for the purpose of setting up defence against neighbouring monarchs whose ambition could at any time

result in an attempt at enlargement of their territories at the expense of the neighbouring princes. Under the old Hindu System as devised and expounded by Manu, proprietary right in land of the person who settled on that land and made it fit for cultivation was recognised by the King who claimed a portion of revenue, but it is doubtful if this principle was ever recognised in Orissa States though most of the rulers claimed Rajput origin.<sup>6</sup> The rulers were supreme land-lords of their respective territories and land was apportioned to the rayots through a number of landed intermediaries such as the Zamindars, Sabarkaras, Gountia, Birtias, Thicadars, Padhans etc. Another set of intermediaries who were the Chiefs of the local militia prevailed in the States who enjoyed jagirs in exchange of their services and paid a small amount of tribute to the ruling Chief. The intermediaries enjoyed their privileged status mostly on hereditary basis and collected bethi (forced labour) from the people for their personal cause. The tenants had hardly any opportunity to dispose of their land according to their own will and practically in most of the States they did not enjoy any proprietary right and always lived on the mercy of the intermediaries. It was thus, the land revenue system which created numerous social stratifications and pressed the rayots to the lowest starta of the society.

Besides all these differences the people of the States were also living under different stages of institutional developments which varied from State to State. The institutional patterns of a few States allowed some measures of people's participation in the government of the States in a restricted manner but in most of the states the medieval system of administration continued unabated by which the rulers exercised the power of life and death over their subjects. Except in the States of Patna, and Mayurbhanj, the people of the states had practically no experience with the working of the local self Government. They were not politically organised till 1931 when the State people's conference was formed for the first time whereas the people of the Province were more or less politically organised ever since the inception of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Besides the Congress, there were two more political parties such as the Unionist Party and the Muslim League in the Province. The deliberate efforts of the predominant Congress leaders infused political consciousness which led to the formation of the local Prajamandals in different States in 1938.

The above noted social and economic conditions and different levels of institutional developments of the States have manifested themselves in the electoral behaviour of the people who were brought under the fold of democracy for the first time and to exercise their franchise in the subsequent elections of Orissa. The Congress party

found it difficult to gain a favourable foot-hold in the ex-State areas because of the fact that it could not penetrate in to the masses living under a socio-economic system bred of feudal rule. On the other hand, the ex-rulers and zamindars could find out easy access to their people through the hierarchy of the landed intermediaries and ex-State servants. In the first General Election in 1952, the princely candidates and zamindars achieved remarkable success. In all, there were fifteen of them and almost in all the fifteen constituencies, they obtained overwhelming majority. Though the subsequent elections have recorded a gradual diminution of the princely hold, certain ex-rulers have yet retained their influence over the people intact till 1974. In this context the instance of nine constituencies of Bolangir District is worth citing where no other political parties or candidate except that of the ex-ruler of Patna has ever won a single seat.

*noth* Another impact of the merger on the politics of Orissa has been the development of a sense of a regionalism rivalry in the State between developed coastal plains and the undeveloped highlands. Though deliberate efforts, were planned to carry regional affiliation to its extreme just before the merger subsequently too, the electoral behaviour of the people has been influenced to a large degree by regional considerations in the State. The origin of this feeling can be traced back to the pre-merger conditions and popular movements of Orissa and Chatisgarh States.

*old* On the eve of merger, two kinds of popular movements were going on side by side in Orissa. The introduction of responsible government in the Province made a number of States, adjoining to the Province, restless. Agitations demanding civil liberties and responsible government in the States flared up in Ranpur, Nayagarh, Dhenkanal, Athagarh, Tigiria, Talcher, and Nilgiri. It assumed a violent form in Ranpur where Major Bezalgett, the Political Agent of Orissa States was stoned to death by a violent mob on 5th January 1939. In other States the local Prajamandals under the leadership of the Provincial Congress Leaders tried to paralyse the administration of the States by making protests against the Princely rule and violating the laws of the States. At the wake of the popular uprisings, the rulers took a conciliatory gesture and introduced some measures of constitutional reforms but the reforms could hardly appease the Prajamandals which demanded the introduction of full responsible government. While these States were seething with discontent against the feudal rule, a parallel agitation broke out in Sambalpur and in its adjoining States in the highlands. In these States the agitation of the local Prajamandals did not make a serious problem and were easily contained by the rulers who organised their own supporters to counteract the activities of the Prajamandals. This agitation aimed at separation of Sambalpur and

Khariar from the Province and unification of the Koshal States. Incidentally the foundation stone at Hirakud for the construction of a multi-purpose river valley Project was laid in March, 1946 by Sir Hawthorne Lewis which involved the immersion of a large tract of land. The illiterate masses long attached to their own land and villages could hardly realise the utility of this Project and think in terms of national or Provincial gains. They were led to agitate against the construction of the Project and carried on vigorous propaganda against it through the media of popular songs, folk-dances and other recreational activities.<sup>7</sup> This movement was also connected with the Maha Koshal Movement which aimed at separation of the Eastern States and thus to maintain the unity of the parts of the erstwhile Koshal Empire of Ramayan fame.

The area of the Koshal States was over 40,000 square miles with a population of 5,000,000.<sup>8</sup> The main ground for the unification of these States outside the Province of Orissa was advocated on the basis of the historical, cultural, and dialectic affinities of the people.<sup>9</sup> The agitators condemned the Kataki people for their intrigue and covetousness for the rich and prosperous land of the Koshal States. It was believed that the proposed scheme of integration of the Orissa States with the Province as worked out by the Congress leaders, would be of advantage to the Kataki people only and far from the centre political gravity the highlanders would never be able to harvest the fruits of the democratic rule in the field of social and economic developments. After the merger and even after a lapse of twenty-six years, majority of the people of this zone still nourishes an attitude of that sort and a number of voluntary associations has been formed to foment this sentiment.<sup>10</sup>

Nowhere the impact of integration has been so obviously felt as it is in case of rise of a strong anti-Congress Opposition Party, a remarkable development in a democratic polity with a single dominant party. A political organisation known as the All India Ganatantra Parishad which had its origin in "Koshalotkal Praja Parishad" was formed in October, 1948 under the active leadership of a number of ex-rulers with its proclaimed objectives of upholding 'civil liberties' of the people and to check the 'growing totalitarian tendencies' of the Party in power. The party viewed the merger of the States as an act of "contravening all canons of democracy" and "ruthless repression and suppression of civil liberties."<sup>11</sup> Efforts were gradually made to spread the sphere of activities of the party beyond the borders of Orissa. Branches of the Parishad were organised in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh by His Holiness Jagadguru Shaktacharya Ramanuj Saraswati Jatindra Dev who decided to merge his All India Mahabharat Party with the

Parishad. Thus in its early career, in addition to its feudal influence a distinct religious odour was lent to it. Nevertheless, the Party exclusively remained a State Party with a remarkable political career till its merger with the Swatantra Party of India in 1962. It emerged as the main anti-Congress Opposition Party in the Legislative Assembly after the First General Election in 1952. The Congress retained its hold in the coastal districts. Out of the 66 seats of the four districts, 42 seats went to the Congress and only two to the Parishad. In western part of the Province, which constitute mostly the ex-States and in the district of Koraput, the Parishad made its brilliant record. Here the Congress could win only fourteen seats out of seventy-four. Thus the two main political parties largely came to represent two main regions, cultures, and historical development.<sup>12</sup>

The Parishad also acted as Coalition-partner of the Congress-led Coalition-government in 1959 when peculiar party alignments had developed in the Assembly. The partnership of the parishad in the Coalition was vehemently criticised by some of its members as an opportunistic-power-sharing-move. The Swatantra Party, the successor of the Parishad, has also remained as the main opposition Party in the State. It has also formed two more Coalition-governments with the Jana Congress and the Utkal Congress, parties formed by the Congress-dissidents in 1967 and 1971 respectively. Thus the merger has conditioned the development of a strong Opposition party and the patterns of Coalitional politics in the State.

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'PYRAMUS AND THISBE' AND 'KEDARA-GAURI':  
AN ESSAY IN COMPARATIVE CRITICISM.

By

S. N. RATH

Lecturer in English, G. M. College, Sambalpur.

No theme of love, not even the story of Helen of Troy, has so much attracted writers during these two thousand years as 'Pyramus and Thisbe' of Ovid. Changing sensibilities in different centuries had, of course, effected variations, but at bottom, the story remains unaltered. Why again, in the eighties of the last century, a poet like Radhanath Ray should adopt this wornout tale, is not still known, but analysis reveals the fact that this Oriya poem, "Kedara-Gauri", though Ovidian in theme and narrative method, does not follow Ovid's text of 'Pyramus and Thisbe' alone; along with this we discover parallel influences of Chaucer's 'Pyramus and Thisbe' which is a tale in The Legend of Good Women, and of the burlesque of "Pyramus and Thisbe" that occurs in "A Midsummer Night's Dream" of Shakespeare. My attempt here is a comparative study of these four texts of the same theme by different poets of different literary epochs.

"Kedara-Gauri", a verse romance as much as "Pyramus and Thisbe" of Ovid or of Chaucer is, shows certain variations and digressions from Ovid at a certain level, and at certain other levels, it comes very close to Ovid, Chaucer and Shakespeare. Radhanath, before he attempted this theme in Oriya, believed in a peculiar kind of poetics which, one can claim, is his own. Borrowing themes and characters from different available foreign sources, he tried to make them his own, a method that Shakespeare believed in and practised so successfully. "Kedara-Gauri", a story that shows the inner working of the passion of love, is Radhanath's first attempt in this kind of poetry. Here he has tried to convert Ovid's tale into a local legend with the help of certain circumstantial evidences that are still found in Orissa. The irony, if we call it an irony, is that, he, in his attempt for some kind of literary achievement, could not overcome the impact of Ovid, and for this reason 'Kedara-Gauri' has remained in Oriya poetry a story of a different clime and culture, entirely unknown to Orissa.

Whether this poem is a creation or an elegant imitation is not our present problem; our concern is to examine to what

extent Radhanath remains an Ovidian or a Chaucerian or a Shakespearean and where he exactly moves away from them and becomes an oriental. "Kedar-Gauri" opens with the information that Kedar, the boy, and Gauri, the girl (Synonym of Pyramus and Thisbe) love each other when they are still in their teens<sup>1</sup>, an information that does not agree with Ovid<sup>2</sup>. Another text, 'Norman Lai', by an unknown author of the twelfth century, speaks of this circumstantial evidence that "The children are striken by the dart of love .....at seven ; at ten they spend their days together"<sup>3</sup>. This kind of love, the inner working of passion devoid of psychological insight, is different even from Shakespeare's extravaganza. Love's living force impels the lovers to abnormal states of mind which loses balance in moments of blind emotion and goes on cursing the wall that divides Kedara from Gauri. In such detail and characterization Radhanath is dependent on Ovid. The elaboration of the state of the lovers in such contrary situations is drawn very close to the story of "Pyramus and Thisbe" that we meet with in the 4th Book of "Metamorphoses". The parents, both of Kedara and of Gauri, act more cruelly than any parent known to the students of literature, save the parents of Romeo and Juliet, and in their blind rage dissolve the engagement that would have otherwise been consummated in marriage.<sup>4</sup> This incident in Ovid is: "They would have been married, but their parents forbade it", a sentence, or a line in poetry, that never mentions about the break of the engagement, nor does the Ovidian text of the narrative speak of any such thing as existing before. 'They in their hearts felt the fire of love' (K.-G. L. 13), an experience which in Ovid becomes 'both burned with equal passion'. Until this, "Kedar-Gauri" keeps pace with the Ovidian tale ; after this, as the text of the poem reveals, there is a departure from the Latin model. Lalata-Keshari, writes the poet, was a king of Orissa, who built the beautiful town of Bhubaneswara. This departure from the original model is effected with dexterity and the method of localization which, the poet believes, will perhaps, give some amount of original colour to his poem. Notwithstanding this kind of technique Kedara-Gauri remains as an Oriya version of "Pyramus and Thisbe" at certain levels. Lalata-Keshari is Semiramis, a Babylonian monarch who built the 'lofty city' with the walls of brick. This city is Chaucer's 'noble town'. Shakespeare, of course, is silent about the citizenship of the young lovers, and he has never considered the king or his town of any importance for his interlude. Radhanath, keeping the development of the poem in his mind, and planning for the scene of action that would lead Gauri (Thisbe) to behold the beast and Kedara (Pyramus) to the bloody mantle piece, has written of a dense forest that has grown in the vicinity of the newly built town of Bhubaneswara. Though this, in such description, differs from Ovid, Kedara-Gauri is

not far away from the Ovidian text. Before Radhanath, the poets of the western world had taken this theme for different purposes. Shakespeare chose this story for an entertainment on the occasion of a marriage, but Radhanath for pure pleasure. Because of this, he, at places, keeps the Ovidian text unaltered, and at some other places, exercises his imagination and creates new situations for poetry to exploit them. This imagination which is all embracing and esemplastic (of course it is a romantic belief, but true), spreads its wings in all directions. The lines that occur in Kedara-Gauri as a reaction to the decision of the parents are

Shall the lover's heart obey the restrictions  
imposed by words ?  
Can one obstruct the way of the invisible  
by means of the visible ?

(K.-G. 15-16)

Such highly metaphorical language conveys a meaning which, to use the words of Tillyard, is never direct, but oblique. This flight of fancy, from the world of senses into abstractions, was never tried either by Ovid or Chaucer, but by Shakespeare. A sure sign of poetic genius as it is, this is a sparkling moment of creation even while following a foreign thematic scheme. Such rare moments, when there is a conscious search for originality, have enriched the poem with beauty and grandeur. Radhanath speaks of the 'hole' in the 'wall unkind'; Shakespeare's wall has been addressed by Pyramus and Thisbe as 'wicked' and in the prologue (of Shakespeare) it has been associated with the epithet 'Vile'. In Chaucer's text we come across a totally different epithet—'Cold'. Ovid's text does not reveal such evidences except the expression 'jealous', for the wall separates the lovers and does not allow them to kiss each other. All these are meant to tell that the stone wall, lifeless and ungratifying as it is, does not understand the lovers' needs due to its lack of sympathy for their feelings. Love knows no reason; passionate love, eager for the realization of desire, take even an inanimate object for a human being. The apostrophe of the lovers to the wall is due to this irrational factor of sex impulse. Radhanath's lovers discover a 'hole' in the wall that has been there from the day of its foundation<sup>5</sup> due to some masonry mistake. This is the 'Chink' by whose side Shakespeare's Pyramus sits and blinks 'through mine eyne' to the other side. Chaucer's text spells of the Ovidian 'Slender chink' as an architectural fault that had gone unnoticed for long years. This chink, may be narrow and negligible, does not go unnoticed by the lovers. Radhanath, it is a remarkable thing to observe, does not follow the "Metamorphoses"; rather he

coins his own phrases to speak of the situation in the light of his thinking. He keeps the 'Crack' (Ovid) unchanged and lets his lovers sit on either side of the wall and whisper to each other's ears the babbling words, sweet in love. A line of his comment on such a situation appears more glorifying.

Secretly but swiftly blew love's sigh through the hole

(K.-G. 19)

This we do not come across either in Ovid or in Chaucer. This is love's working when its way is sealed. Arthur Golding's translation (1567) of Ovid's episode which Shakespeare had used for his parody of Pyramus and Thisbe spells 'light' whispers for 'gentlest' whispers of Ovid, and in 'Kedara-Gauri', it is a 'sad unintelligible whisper'. One can easily notice in Radhanath's poem a line (L. 21) that speaks of the sun-set and the lovers' hasty arrival at each other's place on the either side of the wall, with their eyes wet with tears. The 'Metamorphoses' describes of their departure from the unfeeling wall at night fall. Still, in no way does this difference in the circumstantial evidence break the continuity of the narrative method in Kedara-Gauri. The declamation of the lovers

How does it satisfy you, how does ?

O cruel wall ;

This separation, do you not know this,

will bring you blame and all ?

(K.-G. 23-24)

is in more than one aspect Ovidian. For Radhanath has preserved the spirit and the meaning of his model in this apostrophe. The language of both these texts involves a mixed feeling, a feeling that dwells upon abuse, and again upon eulogy. Pyramus' eulogy to the wall in Shakespeare vanishes, reduces itself to contemptuous verbosity when Thisbe's presence is not felt on the opposite side of the wall. Such opposing human temperaments are fused together for achieving a rare poetic effect. The entreaties of Kedara and of Gauri to the wall to be kind to them, and to give them an opportunity to kiss each other, and again, their gratefulness to it for having enabled them to listen to each other because of its hole, occur in 'Metamorphoses'. For a fruitful comparison it is desirable to place the lines of 'Kedara-Gauri' by the whole passage from Ovid.

Not that we are ungrateful—we  
admit that it is thanks to you

That we have any way at all  
 by which our words can reach  
 our true love's ears. —(Matamorphoses).  
 We owe to thee for your service,  
 O good wall,  
 How could, then, we listen to each other  
 if there was not your hole ;

K.-G. (27-28)

These passages, in some respect, may be dissimilar, but in many other respects, they are very close to each other. The totality of Ovidian meaning has guided the scheme of work of Kedara-Gauri. Shakespeare's Pyramus and Thisbe talk in dialogues since the whole episode is a part of a play. Pyramus first appears at the wall and opens his speech with an address to the 'sweet and lovely wall' which in turn becomes wicked. Then comes Thisbe, anxious and equally mournful, and we hear her short address to the wall, an address that sounds both hope and despair. Standing on either side, they talk through the chink in monosyllabic lines. Hastily they decide for an elopment. Ovid's lovers fix up the time to be 'at dead of night'; but Shakespeare and Radhanath do not place any emphasis on this time factor. Though Shakespeare has written one hundred twelve lines, the same number Ovid wrote, there is hardly any description; description has been sacrificed for stage effect. Radhanath's poem contains one hundred eight lines, four lines less than Ovid's or Shakespeare's, but he has been able to maintain an Ovidian regularity both in characterization and in story telling. Under the veil of the night, Radhanath's lovers depart exchanging their kisses on either side of the wall; Ovid's lovers say 'good-bye' to each other when the sun sets. It is a variation which is perhaps rendered deliberately by Radhanath. His lovers arrive at the wall at a time when Ovid's lovers depart from it. In 'Kedara-Gauri' there is no mention of the time when the lovers depart, the poet simply makes a report of it. With regard to time, Shakespeare's lovers meet at night. Pyramus' reference to the night makes this clear.

The plan long thought of, writes Radhanath, comes as a proposal from both the lovers to escape the parents' eyes. Leaving their home for the realization of love in a condition that knows no tyranny is the only solution for men and women of passion; this was the solution for Desdemona and Othello, and this offers similar possibilities for Kedara and Gauri. The appointed place where the lovers are to meet is, in Ovid, Ninus' tomb, where there is 'a tall mulberry tree' that stands 'close by a cool spring'. Shakespeare omits all this but retains

'Ninny's tomb', a place mentioned by Pyramus and agreed to by Thisbe. 'Kedara-Gauri' informs us of the 'clear watered spring' (not the cool spring of Ovid) circumscribed by a dense forest of trees known as 'Kutaja' in Orissa. There is no mention of the 'welle' which, in the text of Chaucer, is near 'Ninus' who 'was graven under a tree'. The tree is common to Ovid, Chaucer and Radhanath, though the spring becomes 'Welle' in Chaucer, and in Shakespeare it does not get any mention at all. Kedara and Gauri reach such an abnormal conclusion as elopement when passion demands action and emotion transforms into sexual desire. This decision is taken on the 'Next day' in Ovid and 'after some days' in 'Kedara-Gauri'. Chaucer's 'Till a day' is totally different from these two poems.

Kedara and Gauri's plan for elopement is followed by a romantic description of six poetic lines that show influence of Shakespeare. For convenience I render the lines into prose.

The temple spire looks bright in the light of the setting sun and the swans fly away from the banks of the Bargari<sup>6</sup> toward Khandagiri. In the evening breeze crimson ripples dance on the water of Bindusaravara.<sup>7</sup> When the light fades away the sky is decorated with twinkling stars and the night is thickened with darkness. The air smells sweet with the fragrance of the flowers.

(K.-G. 35—40)

A description of this kind is not of Ovid, nor even it is of Chaucer ; one can come across such romantic circumstances that favours Gauri to slip away from home, in The Merchant of Venice when Lorenzo speaks to Jessica in the fifth act.

Look how the floor of heaven  
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold :  
(L. 58—59)

This is a moment of exalted poetry, a moment when imagination reaches the height of creation. To Ovid's Thisbe, 'The day light seemed slow to depart, but at last the sun plunged into the waters and from those waters came forth the night'. Only twenty four words have been used to give an account of the evening scene that helps Thisbe for her escape. Kedara, the poet reveals, is the master of the plan which Thisbe accepts without question, but the girl<sup>8</sup> leaves her home earlier than the boy. Other European versions of "Pyramus and Thisbe" have not altered this and followed Metamorphoses sincerely. Radhanath's portrait of Gauri is

A girl in love knows no fear

(K.-G. 42)

which in Ovid is 'Love made her bold'. All around her there is darkness in the world, but in Gauri's heart there shines the light of love and hope and desire. The contrast between the external universe and Gauri's inner world is very much striking.

The presence of the moon in 'Kedara-Gauri' is another factor that brings it close to the literary tradition of European love poetry. Chaucer mentions of the moon twice in his poem ; Shakespeare makes his play set in moon light. In the latter half of the poem Radhanath has given a prominent place to the moon, who is equally a significant agent in Ovid's 'Pyramus and Thisbe.' It is the moon that makes the tiger visible to Gauri, and again this is the same moon that reveals Gauri's mantle to Kedar's sight. Shakespeare makes an ironical use of the moon light with a dramatic contrast between expectation and surprise. Pyramus hopes to see Thisbe but in the moon light he sees her mantle with blood. The moon is quite romantic in Bottom's play, but the outcome is a tragedy. It is interesting to observe that Radhanath, at such a place, though he keeps the moon, alters the lion or lioness into a tiger. He chooses another beast, of course, but it is as ferocious and blood thirsty as the lioness of Ovid and Chaucer, and the lion of Shakespeare. English texts<sup>9</sup> of the story have taken the beast as a lion and sometimes as a lioness, but no writer during these two thousand years after the inception of the tale has effected such a drastic change as this Oriya poet. This change is in consonance with a geographical reality as in the jungles of Orissa lions are hardly found. The beast, 'fresh from the kill' (Ovid) makes its appearance with a 'bloody mouth' (Chaucer) (in Ovid it is 'Slavering Jaws') and Thisbe, at this sight, runs into a nearby cave, but drops her mantle. One can see the description of the beast in 'Kedara-Gauri'. It comes out of the forest with claws and teeth smeared with blood. Since it has killed a deer, drops of blood are still dripping down from its mouth. This detail is not given in Ovid nor even in Chaucer. Their reference to the mantle and the animal's tearing of this fine piece of fabric with its bloody teeth and claw find their way into the poem of the Oriya poet. No other text alters the fact that the animal has torn out the mantle while returning from the spring (Ovid and Radhanath) or from the (Welle-Chaucer) with his blood stained jaws :

and tore its fine fabric to shreds,  
ripping it with blood stained jaws,  
(Ovid)

And with her bloody mouthe hit at to rent.  
(Chaucer)

tore the veil  
With his teeth red with blood  
(Radhanath)

and, then, disappears into the forest.

No other lion roars like Shakespeare's who 'paws Thisbe's mantle' that she has cast before running away. The difference between 'Kedara-Gauri' and Shakespeare's Pyramus and Thisbe is the difference between a play and a poem. A narrative has scope for descriptive detail, but a drama always demands action on the stage.

All writers in the narrative tradition observe the Ovidian scheme by bringing Pyramus or Kedara to the scene to behold the bloody mantle by moon light. Fate works through the animal, and the dropping of the mantle is the working of Chance, such as the dropping of the handkerchief of Desdemona at a moment when she needs it most or the letter of Tess lying for days under the carpet in Angel Clare's apartment. Writers invent such tragic situations by such methods, and this situation turns the romance to a tragedy. The moon's glittering gleams are to help Pyramus to see Thisbe clearly, but what does Shakespeare's Pyramus see? "Kedara-Gauri" has missed this tragic irony as it follows Metamorphoses closely. Kedara sees in the light of the moon the paw-prints of the tiger before he discovers the blood-stained veil. Chaucer and Shakespeare, in this, form a different group from Ovid and Radhanath. Kedara's mourning with a feeling of loss is as heart rending as that of Pyramus. In 'Kedara-Gauri' Radhanath never allows his hero to kiss the mantles as Shakespeare does but allows him to press the veil to his heart. Kedara's desperate attempt on his own life with a sword is similar to Ovid, Chaucer, and Shakespeare. Twenty-four short lines of the dramatist does the same thing what Ovid has done with a lengthy description. Radhanath devotes nine full length lines and a half to narrate the stabbing of Kedara. Neither Shakespeare nor Radhanath is particularly keen about the Ovidian myth of the fruit of the mulberry tree assuming a purple hue with the touch of Pyramus' blood. Even Chaucer has not given this any importance. Critical and comparative studies of various texts of 'Pyramus and Thisbe' and of 'Kedara-Gauri' involve problems that are similar at times and at some other time they drift away from each other. The free and frank adaptations of the Ovidian tale in different literatures of the world caused variations that provide scholars with propitious opportunities for intellectual exercises.

Such textual differences, in detail and description, give us an ample opportunity to conclude that Radhanath in his attempt to write 'Kedara-Gauri' had not followed a single text of the poem, but had read

more than one text before he made up his mind for such a literary adventure. This, perhaps, is the reason why his poem touches Ovid at one point and Shakespeare at another. Those who follow Ovid keep Pyramus still breathing to die only when Thisbe will appear and call him 'Pyramus'. Kedara-Gauri has adopted this for its purpose. Shakespeare creates altogether a different character in the person of Pyramus who at once dies ; his death is abrupt and dramatic, and he announces his own end. Gauri sees her man lying on the ground oozing blood and starts mourning. Radhanath, with her moaning brings into the poem the two traditions, the Indian literary tradition which he has picked up from Kalidasa and the European tradition known to Ovid, Chaucer, and Shakespeare. Rati, after Kama is burnt, mourns in a manner which is as pathetic as Gauri's. Gauri's weeping, like Rati's, creates an emotional atmosphere in the poem. No western writer has missed Thisbe's mournful address to her Pyramus. Shakespeare's Thisbe utters a sad monologue. Radhanath has allowed Gauri to kiss her dying lover as the western writers have done, an act which Indian culture does not approve. Of course, 'Kedara-Gauri' adheres to Ovid's poem in the manner that Chaucer's poem does ; a practice different from Shakespeare's. Ovid's Thisbe embraces her lover, but Gauri places her lover on her lap ; in Shakespeare she simply uncovers the muffled face of Pyramus. Shakespeare does not speak of Thisbe's kissing of Pyramus' 'frosty mouth' which Chaucer describes. Textual similarities and differences illuminate criticism when such an attempt is made for comparision. Kissing is as much forbidden in Indian poetic culture as blaming the parents, and Radhanath's Gauri does not blame her father as Thisbe does, but kills herself with the sword that has killed Kedara. Shakespeare's Thisbe, failing to get hold of the sword that has killed Pyramus, stabs herself perforce with the scabbard and dies. She never expressess her last wish to be laid with Pyramus whether in a single tomb or in a single urn. Gauri, in a similar way, has no wish of any kind ; she simply stabs herself, and her death is implied though not explicitly described. It is curious enough to observe that Radhanath, unlike Shakespeare, has glorified the lover's death for their truthfulness ; he, in this description, has followed the Ovidian line. But Shakespeare, by altering Ninus into Ninny, has, perhaps, worked out a secret idea that Pyramus and Thisbe, in their sacrifice, though not in their love, are none other than fools. Ninny, according to the Elizabethan sense is a fool, and these lovers who drop themselves into Ninny's grave are not wise. This is of course very strange and it is equally strange to wish to find a parallel to this in "Kedara-Gauri."

Similarities and differences between "Kedara-Gauri" and other texts of "Pyramus and Thisbe" are many, but nothing is as different from the Ovidian theme or as similar to the last scene of Romeo and Juliet as

the closing lines of Radhanath's poem. For a student of comparative literature they appear to be a striking contrast as well as a remarkable parallel. Western critical scholarship had often attempted in the past to find out a possibility for discussing "Romeo and Juliet" as akin to "Pyramus and Thisbe" for the simple reason that the former deals with a theme which is as romantic and as tragic as the latter. Both the literary works establish the fact that the obduracy of parents has brought Pyramus and Thisbe and Romeo and Juliet to their tragic ends<sup>10</sup>. No doubt, 'Kedara-Gauri' and 'Romeo and Juliet' can be discussed on the line of this argument, but this is not a vital problem for our analysis ; what is important have is the building of temples for Kedara and Gauri and raising statues for them at the King's command. No where in 'Metamorphoses' we have such information, though we know of a common tomb that Ovid describes. At Bhubāneswara there are the temples of Kedāreswara and of Gauri which were built up in between the C. 10th century and 11th century A.D.<sup>11</sup> Radhanath, perhaps, refers to these temples in his poem. Inspite of this, the fact still remains is that the Kedāreswara temple is a seat of Saiva worship because Kedāreswara is not other than Lord Siva, and Gauri, according to the Indian mythologies, is Pārvati the wife of Kedara (Siva). To make his poem a part of Oriya literature he has employed religion to the service of poetry in 'Kedara-Gauri' in this way. But the question is : Did Radhanath invent the idea of the statues ? Curiously enough, the closing lines of 'Romeo and Juliet' reveal the analogy between this early tragedy of Shakespeare and Radhanath's poem, an analogy that sparkles as an intellectual illumination. At the end there comes a reconciliation between the Montagues and the Capulets, the parents of Romeo and Juliet, respectively, and they, at this moment, decide to raise statues of gold for their dead children.

Montague : But give thee more  
For I will raise her statue in pure gold:

To such a proposal the father of Juliet replies:

Capulet : As rich shall Romeo's by his lady's lie.

There is the presence of a prince when these men converse, but there is no kingly decree for raising their statues, as we find in Kedara-Gauri. Thibe's wish for a single tomb (as in Ovid) and the golden statues of Romeo and Juliet have been similar to the temples and the statues of the lovers in this Oriya poem. No doubt, Kedara-Gauri is also the story of 'A pair of star-crossed lovers' who take their lives, and, on this merit, it is tragic, but in its basic features this poem stays away from 'Romeo and Juliet'. 'Romeo and Juliet' is an explora-

tion in human psychology and an experiment in character motivation; Kedara-Gauri falls short in these aspects. If a tragic sense is to reveal the inner conflict of man, and his sad defeat in the battle against circumstance, 'Kedara-Gauri', as a narrative poem, is not as much tragic as Tennyson's 'Enoch Arden', but as an Oriya poet's first interest in a European literary and intellectual tradition Kedara-Gauri's place in the history of Oriya poetry in particular and Oriya literature at large is significant. If modernism in Oriya poetry means the fusion of the Western literary consciousness with the sense of Oriental culture and tradition, and if, again, on this merit, we hail the modern literary movement that has taken form by altogether a different kind of poetic sensibility totally unknown to the Oriya writers before Radhanath, then, he, inspite of his adventure in poetry with an exotic material, anticipated a prosperous dawn for modern Oriya poetry, though he had his limitations.

#### REFERENCES

1. One loved the other when they were children still. (Kedara-Gauri L. 8) (I myself have translated the lines from Kedara-Gauri, the original text of Radhanath Ray, the poet.)
2. For my study I have used the Penguin classics text of Ovid's Metamorphoses translated by Mary M. Innes into English prose.
3. Madeine Doran : 'Pyramus and Thisbe' published in Essays on Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama, p. 151. Ed. Richard Hosley, London (1963).
4. The Tragedy of 'Pyramus and Thisbe' in the B. M. Add. MS. gives altogether a different version that the parents of these lovers decided to restrict their children from seeing each other. With such a decision the play begins. Professor Geoffrey Bullough has collected this tragedy in his 'Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare' Vol. 1 P. 411. London (1961).
5. In the B. M. Add. MS. the chink is discovered first by Casina Ancill and then conveyed it to Thisbe.
6. Bhargavi is a river in the coastal region of Orissa.
7. A large tank near the Lingaraja temple at Bhubaneswara.
8. Helen C.R. Lauric in an article writes that, because of such character evidences, it seems that Thisbe is more passionate than Pyramus. (Modern Language Review) No. 55, (1960) PP. 24-32).
9. T. Cooper in his version of the story (1573) has accepted the beast as 'lioness' which agrees with Arthur Golding's translation (1567), Ovid and Chaucer's beast is a female whereas Shakespeare's is a male.

10. Kenneth Muir argues that Romeo and Juliet was conjectured to have taken from 'Pyramus and Thisbe' for the woman follows the suicide of the man; in both the stories the lovers die because of their parents. Shakespeare's Sources p. 33. London (1961). The same argument can be applied to 'Kedara-Gauri' and 'Romeo and Juliet' for comparison at a superficial level.
11. Dr. H. K. Mahtab—History of Orissa Vol. I., p. 282 Cuttack (1956). Kedareswara, the name of a Siba-linga, is at Bhubaneswara. It is a temple built during the time of Lalatendu Kesari who was identified by Dr. Mahtab with Udyata Kesari, the son of Jajati Kesari. There is no history to support Radhanath's imaginative adventure. At Bhubaneswar there is no temple built up in commemoration of these amorous lovers by 10th-11th century King, Lalatendu Kesari.

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## TRAINING OF CIVIL SERVANTS DURING THE RULE OF EAST INDIA COMPANY : A STUDY\*

S. MISRA, M.A. (Pub. Adm. and Pol. Sc.); B. Ed.,

Lecturer in Pol. Sc., D. A. V. College, Titilagarh.

Gunnar Myrdal has observed that, "in the Civil Administration, the Army and the Police Force, the new India inherited the efficient instrument of power".<sup>1</sup> Again he observed, "since Indianization of these services was already far along by the time British had left, India began its independence with a larger proportion of competent and experienced officials than any other South Asian country save Philippines and Ceylon".<sup>2</sup>

The efficient instrument of power, if by power is meant "the ability to get things done : that is to say, it is a function of knowledge, skill and personal qualities,"<sup>3</sup> was not transplanted in India overnight. Rather it grew and developed in India and its genesis lies far deep in history of the administration of the East India Company and the systematic study of the evolution of this instrument of power is of considerable academic importance beyond doubt.

A detailed study will require the space of a fat volume. The scope of this paper is limited to the study of the training of one aspect to this efficient instrument of power in its early stage of development, i.e., the training of the civil servants of the East India Company.

Historically speaking, the Company enrolled Indian guards for the protection of its several factories. By the end of 17th century the Company had succeeded in establishing three chief fortified positions. "Around these three fortifications there grew three presidencies each with its own military force. The presidency Armies consisted of European recruits from England and collected locally"<sup>4</sup> by the Company authorities. They consisted the genesis of the Indian Army.

On a functional basis the servants of the Company were divided into two categories. Those who were engaged in non-military type of work were known as civil servants of the Company. They consisted of a body of Merchants, Factors and Writers and this Common name was attributed to them.<sup>5</sup>

The term "Civil Service" is thus of Indian origin which was quickly imported first to Prussia and later to all the countries of the Western World. But in the foreign land it has a wider connotation.

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The native connotation was not imported along with the term itself. In India the very term Civil Service stands for the corps d' élite at the higher echelons of the administration. The very term still is used in India to denote the same. But in other countries the same term is used to denote the whole body of Government Servants.<sup>6</sup>

**The main characteristics of the Company Administration :**

In the course of history the East India Company, a trading concern initially, became the administrative authority. The year 1763 is marked by acquisition of Northern Sarkar by the Company and this acquisition of Northern Sarkar made the East India Company the administrative authority. There developed the dual aim of the Company, the mercantile aim and the administrative aim ; the first aim being of primary importance. This condition persisted till 1813. After 1813 the mercantile aim was made subordinate to administrative aim as a by-product of the trade blockade created by Napoleon<sup>7</sup> when the East India Company had to face competition of other trading concerns of England who were granted to trade in India. This period is marked by rapid expansion of territories.

1833 is another most important date in the history of East India Company's administration in the sense that since this date the Company ceased to be a trading concern and became only the administrative authority in India<sup>8</sup> and continued as such till 1857 when the Crown took over the administration of India.

"The Civil Servants of the Company were thus traders. These traders became administrators with the change in the role of the Company. Having little formal education, paid an extremely low salary and allowed to do private trade, the Company's early administrators were notoriously corrupt and the Company's affairs were grossly mismanaged."<sup>9</sup>

There was no provision of any formal training for the civil servants of the Company in the early period. "The only training they received was a year or more of employment as copyists which did little but give them time to settle down, after which they were appointed to a post and learnt its duties as they carried them out."<sup>10</sup>

**What is Training of Civil Service :**

In order to understand the need of training of Civil Servants, a proper definition of training of Civil Servants need to be worked out and that is as follows :

The training of the Civil Servants is a 'vital input' to improve the output of administration both qualitatively and quantitatively,<sup>11</sup> a function of helping others to acquire and apply knowledge, skills, abilities and attitudes which are needed by the organisation of which they are part,<sup>12</sup> an investment in human resources<sup>13</sup> who, by accident, are grouped together in the organisation, to accomplish common goals, having potentialities of being transformed, a high efficiency at low cost programme.

#### The Necessity of Training :

The training of the Civil Servants is absolutely necessary for rationalisation of the bureaucracy. The need for training of modern Civil Service of India arises out of the following reasons :

- (a) accelerative thrust of Science and technology ;
- (b) qualitative expansion of workload of contemporary Government ;
- (c) increasing complexity of the problems the Civil Service is encountering to-day ;
- (d) the rapidly rising tempo of the political consciousness among the people ;
- (e) the popular discontent with the existing state of affairs ;
- (f) the dependence of national stability upon the ability of the Government in satisfying at least a minimum of popular needs and expectations ; and
- (g) the urgent need for a radical change in the attitude of the public personnel.<sup>14</sup>

The reasons for the need of training may differ from time to time and from Government to Government. But the need of training of the Civil Service is universally accepted as vital. Also it is strange that this vital need for increase in efficiency at low cost continues to be neglected throughout the world. Lynton K. Caldwell found this negligence in 1962.<sup>15</sup> The United Nations' study found the same in 1966.<sup>16</sup> Sriram Maheshwari points out the situation with respect to Training of Public Services in India that, "Training is not yet regarded as a part of the long range planning of Public Personnel. This is more than anything else, which constitutes its worst weakness."<sup>17</sup> Through the training provision of the entire Public Service of India is deplorably inadequate, yet India is a pioneer in providing training for its Civil Servants. It would be more correct to say that the East India Company and particularly its first servant, Lord Wellesley, realised the importance of the training of the Servants of the Company's higher echelon as early as 1800 A.D.

### The Aims of the Training of Civil Servants of East India Company :

Richard C. Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, a young dynamic statesman yet in his thirties, having out and out imperialistic attitude, took over the Office of Governor General with the conviction that, "The Empire must be considered as a sacred trust and a permanent possession. Duty, policy and honour require that it should not be administered as a temporary and precarious acquisition."<sup>18</sup> He was both a scholar and a man of action, with confidence of Pitt, the Prime Minister of England, he assumed the office to build and consolidate an empire in India. By the time he took over office, there had been certain reformations in the Civil Service, such as conversion of civil service into covenanted service and the award of high salary to ward off the temptation for corruption and desire for private trade, and also to attract persons of efficiency. But no attention had thus far been paid to exploit the potentialities of the Civil Service for improvement through training.

Further there was lack of corporate spirit among the Civil Servants. There were the Scottish, the Irish and the English Civil Servants with their peculiarities and differences. But for the Indians they were required to be indistinguishable, if a colony in India was to be built up and be maintained.

Again the three Presidencies—Bengal, Bombay and Madras—had developed independent of one another and though they were legally centralised in 1773<sup>19</sup> there persisted the independent spirit in these Presidencies and that spirit was reflected among the Civil Servants in the shape of rivalry.

Also the newcomers to the Civil Service were of little use to the administration of the Company for about three years which they used to spend in India for no tangible work.

### The Specific Aims of the Training :

Soon after taking over office Lord Wellesley felt the need for training the new recruits to the Civil Service. The aims of the training of the new recruits were : (a) to build up a corporate spirit among the civil servants ; (b) to ward off the rivalry among the civil servants of the three Presidencies and thereby to make the legal provision of 1773 Act a reality ; (c) to make the civil servants fit to shoulder the greater responsibility which Lord Wellesley visualised to come after acquisition of further territories ; (d) to make the best use of the first three years of Service of the new recruits ; (e) to eradicate as far as possible the evil effects of the patronage system

of recruitment by exploiting the potentialities of the new recruits ; (f) to cultivate pride for the service among the new recruits.

#### The Training College at Fort William :

With these aims in view Lord Wellesley founded a training college at Fort William in the year 1800. He was aware of the fact that the Court of Directors of the Company will not approve of the training scheme. Because they were concerned primarily with the earning of as much of profit with as less responsibility as possible and therefore, were in a attitude to reject all measures calling for financial commitments. Secondly the Civil Service was yet to develop at home. According to Graham Wallace, the Civil Service of England "is the one great political innovation in nineteenth century England<sup>20</sup>. Therefore, the importance of training the Civil Servants for the sake of high level of efficiency at low cost was not realised. It was for these reasons that Lord Wellesley made this training college self-sufficient by raising contributions from the trainees and gave a start to it immediately.

When the Court of Directors came to know of this training college—they reacted sharply against it. The reasons were : (a) they did not like to shoulder the extra burden of supervision of this college ; (b) they did not like to be bullied by the first servant of the Company and (c) finally they did not find any reason to maintain such a college in India when a similar one and according to them a better one could be established in England.

It was due to opposition by the Court of Directors that the brainchild of Lord Wellesley had a premature death in 1806.

#### The Curricula :

The curricula of the Fort William College had two parts. One part consisted of Indian History, Law and Oriental Languages. The other part consisted of Ethics, International Law and General History. This part aimed at General Education because the general education of the new recruits was being cut short due to their appointment at a considerable young age and they required about 3 years, which was spent not for any tangible good cause, but to settle in India.

The discipline in this college was kept as far as possible equal to that of Cambridge or Oxford. The college was staffed as far as possible by Orientalists of considerable distinction.

The argument against Fort William College was that England was a more suitable place than Calcutta for General Education while Calcutta had no advantage for teaching Tamil or Marathi. The lack

of corporate spirit could be made up and the pride for the service could be cultivated in England as well and that too more suitably. The result was that the college at Fort William was whittled down to a school of Oriental Learning for Bengal alone, and continued as such for a long period.

By whittling down the college of Fort William the Court of Directors asserted that they were not to be bullied by the first of their servants. But they were not able to cast away the reasonings of Lord Wellesley as being vague and unnecessary. They, in course of demolishing the Governor General's training project committed to a similar college in England. The East India College, Herts, was inaugurated at Hertford Castle in 1806 and later was shifted to Haileybury in 1809 and continued for fifty years.

#### The East India College, Haileybury :

We come across the description and an assessment of this Haileybury College in Phillip Woodruff's book "The Man Who Ruled India, Volume 1, the Founders."<sup>21</sup> With respect to aim, it can be said that this College was first of its kind. Because its aim was to train up bureaucrats of higher echelons of the hierarchy and it was a pre-entry training college. It can be claimed that this college was first of its kind because the Civil Service throughout the world was yet to develop and the conception of pre-entry training of the Civil Servants was out of question at the time when Haileybury College was founded.

#### Syllabi at Haileybury College :

The syllabi of the college had two parts, namely, (a) the Orientals, (b) the Europeans.

The Orientals were mainly languages. It was a two-year course divided into four terms. A beginning in Orientals was being made with Sanskrit. The Second term had Persian and, a third language, which was usually Hindusthani, was taught in the third term. These three languages were compulsory. But nevertheless within the four terms, i.e., two years, some of the students tried to learn as many as five languages.<sup>22</sup>

The Europeans consisted of Classical Languages, Mathematics and Law both general and Indian. Great emphasis was put upon Political Economy and History. This special emphasis made this Haileybury College different from other older university, colleges where these subjects were hardly taught.

### The Staff of Haileybury College :

The succession of list of Principals, who gave the animate shape to Haileybury College through their leadership, is very revealing with respect to the standard of this unique institution. The first Principal was Malthus. He was teaching Political Economy and History. He continued as such for thirty years.

Malthus was succeeded by Richard Jones. He was a revolutionary with respect to the economic ideas of the time. His book "Rent" contains his view upon the topics which are of considerable difference from those of Adam Smith, Malthus and Ricardo. As a teacher he was brilliant. His students used to listen to him with breathless rapt attention. He had no hesitation to express his differences from the celebrated orthodox economists and this attitude of his had a very good effect indeed. The young men of Haileybury were brought up in an atmosphere of controversy by leading men in a subject in which England led the world. It was an atmosphere which was befitting for the young prospective administrators who ought to take interest and understand the controversy very well.

Sir James Stephen was the successor of Richard Jones. His standard of teaching was such that it is said, he lectured "as though casting pearls before Swine".

The last principal was Mr Melville. There was a magic spell in his teachings. He could hold the rapt attention of his students for two hours continuously, without his listeners being aware of the passage of time.

Haileybury College was led by men of such calibre and eminence. A survey of the life at Haileybury College is further revealing regarding the quality of the institution.

### Life at Haileybury College :

The inmates of Haileybury College were deprived of the luxurious life of Oxford Public School. They had been accommodated in small bed-sitting which served as combination of cubicle and study. Such a life was shocking for students habituated to the Public School luxury. But that hardship was not only desirable but also necessary for those who had to face a harder life in India. At seven in the morning life at Haileybury used to start with the bread maker lighting the fire and the scout filling the bath with cold water and then making as much noise as possible while cleaning the boots so as to awaken the inmates. The breakfast time was 8 a.m. The breakfast was substantial but simple. The morning hours were packed with Lectures. The early hours of the afternoon were devoted in writing notes. There was no

provision of regular lunch. Games were provided for enjoyment and exercise. They were not considered compulsory as a business of life. At six p.m. there was the dinner and at 8 p.m. the chapel. The inmates were required to prepare their lessons upto 11 p.m. and as such there was a bell at 11 p.m. But none used to care for that bell. The studious among them used to read far into night.

#### Evaluations :

There were terminal evaluation at the end of each term. The students were graded according to proficiency. The highest grade was "G" which stood for Great Proficiency. This gradation system was responsible for healthy competition. There was provisions of several prizes. Some of the prizes were of considerable value. At the end of the term there was the celebration of a day which was known as the "Di's Day". It was called such because the Court of Directors used to visit the college in a body headed by the Chairman. On the Di's Day there were speeches, prizes and pats at the back. The Di's Day was like a family affair. Because each young man at Haileybury was either a relation of, or was known very intimately to at least one of the Directors who was to nominate him to the Civil Service of the Company.

#### An Assessment of Haileybury :

The age of entry into Haileybury College was fifteen to twenty-two. Therefore, the difference between the youngest and the oldest was very wide. The teachers used to find boys who should have been still in the school, sitting side by side with young man who might have taken a University degree. The teachers, therefore, had a very tough time to in catering to the needs of each student. The lower age limit of entry was raised to seventeen in the year 1833. Even then there were too great a gap between the youngest and the oldest. But every attempt was made "to keep men upto the collar."

Further the difference between the Haileybury College and any other college of the time was very little according to some critics. Therefore, according to them it was "easy to be tedious about Haileybury." The discipline was lax, but so it was at Oxford and Eton.

It was because there were certain outstanding Civil Servants even before Haileybury College came into being and it was further because there were certain Haileybury trained Civil Servants who were inefficient, a doubt had been expressed by certain quarters as to the worth of Haileybury. But there were men like Elphinstone and Metcalfe<sup>3</sup> who had the ability to educate themselves, however they were placed. Even Lord Wellesley was aware of the fact that there were many

able Civil Servants, who had no training of any kind. While advocating for a training college he wrote to the Court of Directors, "I have found the officers of the Secretariate to possess the industry of clerks with the talent of statesman, but their merits are ascribed to their own characters, talents and exertions."<sup>24</sup> Therefore, it was hardly fair to expect that Providence would supply the Company with man-power to meet the challenge of the situation when the territory was to expand at a rapid pace. In fact Haileybury produced certain illustrious Civil Servants who had not only wide visions but also the sense of pride for the service and self-confidence. Even there were Haileybury trained Civil Servants who had the courage to give expression to their difference with respect to policy matters and to revolt against the corrupt practices of their immediate superior.<sup>25</sup> It is therefore correct that it is by the outlook of Haileybury men in India that Haileybury must be judged. The argument in favour of Haileybury was that it fostered a close family spirit, a unity of interest. Because of Haileybury the Indian Empire was administered by men who knew one another and strove together in the friendly spirit of the 'Cock-house'. They trusted one another and worked for the Company, and that was why they over-ran India. The merit of Haileybury College was recognised by the Crown in 1813.<sup>26</sup> The entry into the Civil Service was subjected to the condition of successful completion of four terms at Haileybury. A certificate from the Principal, to the effect that the candidate had completed four terms of pre-entry training at Haileybury was a necessity before entering into the Civil Service.

The characteristic feature of the attitude of Haileybury trained Civil Servants of the Company is reflected in the evidence before a committee of the House of Commons in 1853 given by F. J. Haileyday. He said, "I believe that our mission in India is to qualify them for governing themselves. I say also that the measures of the governments for a number of years past have been advisedly directed to so qualifying them".<sup>27</sup> The change of the attitude of the Company's Civil Servants is visibly marked when the Haileybury trained Civil Servants were recruited. But the change of the attitude was slow in the initial stage. Because the Company had adopted the system of promotion on seniority basis and therefore, though the lower echelons of the Covenanted Services were filled in by Haileybury trained hands, the upper echelons were predominately occupied by untrained Civil Servants of older tradition.<sup>28</sup> When we compare the attitude of the Civil Servants of the company in 1800 with that of the Civil Servants of 1818, the change is widely marked. It is for this reason that the historians who have studied the administration of Company rule in Orissa have discussed the period of company administration in 3 different phases,

the first phase being 1800 to 1818, the second phase 1818 to 1833 and the third phase 1833 to 1857. Since 1813 the recruitment of the civil servants had been limited to Haileybury trained personnels and by 1818 the upper echelon of the company administration was filled with Civil Servants having Haileybury attitude. Therefore, the administration<sup>29</sup> of the Company was not as inhumanely ruthless as the earlier period of Company administration.

Though the concept of modern welfare state was yet to develop in early nineteenth century the Haileybury attitude of the Company's Civil Servants had certain characteristics of welfare attitude. Because, the policy of the administration does not originate in a vacuum, it originates in the civil service at a considerable low level. Inspite of having the mercantile aim of the Company's administration playing a dominant role in determination of policy of the Company there was the annual provision of Rs. 100,000 to be applied to the revival and to the improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.<sup>30</sup>

Further the period from 1813 up to the end of the Company administration is more marked by the rapidity of the reformation of administration than the earlier period though this period is marked by rapid expansion of territory also during the period of rapid expansion of territory reformation of administration is bound to hamper. But nevertheless in this period there have been certain administrative reforms which are of considerable importance and the credit must be given to the civil service for all these reforms. It is in this period that the Indian Penal Code and the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedures were made. The Indian legislature was also born.<sup>30</sup>

The Haileybury attitude in the Civil Service of the Company and the arbitrary rule of the Company came to an end. The way of impersonal, institutionalised anonymous civil service was paved. Before 1800 the administration of the Company was carried on by civil servants who were graduated in chicanery and grown grey in fraud and corruption.<sup>31</sup> When the Haileybury trained Civil Servants manned the Company administration, "even the character of the Governor General was less important than the spirit of the Servants by whom the administration of India was carried on."<sup>32</sup>

The Civil Servants of Haileybury training were critical about the policy of the Company. Though they carried on the policy of the Company they did not lose their individuality and hence they separated their offices from their individualities and thereby institutionalised the Civil Service after a period of bureaucracy of the Civil Service. During

the early decades of nineteenth century due to the lack of communication and limited resources the "young officers were compelled to rely upon their own resources and themselves to take decisions on important matters of policy and administration. These Officer developed traditions of initiative imagination, understanding and great force of character. They thus became the founders of new traditions which was to show greater results during the next generation.<sup>33</sup> Thus the Haileybury trained man turned the arbitrary and often inhumane administration of the Company into impersonal institutionalised administration through a period of personal rule and hence rightly the training college of Haileybury is to be attributed the credit of creation of modern civil service to act as an efficient instrument of power which the independent India inherited from the British rule and exploited most usefully to preserve and maintain independence in the most turbulent days that followed independence.

The modern India, therefore, is greatly indebted to the training college at Haileybury.

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## DRAMATIC TECHNIQUES OF HAROLD PINTER

KUNJABANA PATEL

Research Scholar, P. G. Deptt. of English

"Two people in a room — I am dealing a great deal of the time with this image of two people in a room. The curtain goes up on the stage, and I see it as a very potent question : what is going to happen to these two people inside the room ? Is someone going to open the door and come in ?"<sup>1</sup> When asked by Kenneth Tynan what his two people are afraid of, Pinter replied, "Obviously, they are scared of what is outside the room. Outside the room is a world bearing upon them, which is frightening. I am sure it is frightening to you and me as well . . . . . we are all in this, all in a room, and outside is a world . . . . . which is most inexplicable and frightening, curious and alarming."<sup>2</sup> Thus, Pinter in his plays, like Kafka in his novels, presents a poetic image of human condition and is preoccupied with our fears and anxieties rather than with our hopes. His is a Kafkaesque world where, as Artaud said, at any moment the sky can fall on our heads. This view of the world is never just a philosophical abstraction but is based on the experience of a Jewish boy in the East End of London, a Jew in the Europe of Hitler. Talking about his first play, *The Room*, Pinter has made the point very clear : "This old woman is living in a room which she is convinced, is the best in the house, and she refuses to know anything about the basement downstairs. She says it's damp and nasty, and the world outside is cold and icy, and that in her warm and comfortable room her security is complete. But, of course, it isn't ; an intruder comes to upset the balance of everything, in other words, points to the delusion on which she is basing her life. I think the samething applies in *The Birthday Party*. Again this man is hidden away in a seaside boarding house . . . . . then two people arrive out of nowhere, and I don't consider this an unnatural happening. I don't think it is all that surrealistic and curious because surely this thing, of people arriving at the door, has been happening in Europe in the last twenty years. Not only the last twenty years, the last two to three hundred."<sup>3</sup>

When a Pinter play begins we see two people talking about some petty things — usually about the morning tea, breakfast or the newspaper. For a long while they are preoccupied with these trivia — like Meg about the cornflakes and fried bread, or Aston with the plugs, or

Davies with the shoes. Pinter is also interested in these trivia and devotes so many pages for them not for their own sake but for the opportunities they afford him to expose his characters' much deeper states of unrest, boredom and resentment. Life has lost all values for Pinter's people. But somehow they are to cling to their lives. His characters are "at the extreme edge of their living, where they are living pretty much alone".<sup>4</sup> They are "funny" creatures living in an absurd world.

As a consequence, the importance of characterisation is minimized in a Pinter play. He, unlike Shaw or Ibsen, does not give details of their dress, costume or physical build up. In his stage directions even he mentions nothing about the actors or as to how a certain scene should be performed. This gives the actors a certain kind of independence. He agrees with Thornton Wilder who says, "Characterisation in a play is like a blank check which the dramatist accords to the actor for him to fill in".<sup>5</sup>

Pinter's method of characterisation differs from that of conventional method. The conventional dramatists used to give details about the characters' past lives, social and family backgrounds. Pinter's characters fail to clarify their past. They are liable to distort their past history. They often misrepresent their position in society. Their attitudes are inconsistent. Generally, we know nothing about the characters except what we see and hear for ourselves, and their statements are often self-contradictory. For example, in his first play, *The Room*, Mr. Kidd is made to prattle on at great length about his sister but as soon as he goes out of the room, Rose says, "I don't believe he had a sister, ever." He is also quite uncertain about his own background : "I think my mum was a Jewess. Yes, I wouldn't be surprised to learn that she was a Jewess." This element of uncertainty about the background and identity of the characters has often led critics to accuse Pinter of deliberate mystification. Pinter denies any such attempt on his part. When he received a letter which read : "Dear Sir, I would be obliged if you would kindly explain me the meaning of your play, *The Birthday Party*. These are the points which I do not understand : 1. Who are the two men ? 2. Where did Stanley come from ? 3. Were they all supposed to be normal ? You will appreciate that without the answers to my questions I cannot fully understand your play", Pinter is said to have replied : 'Dear Madam, I would be obliged if you would kindly explain me the meaning of your letter. These are the points which I do not understand : 1. Who are you ? 2. Where do you come from ? 3. Are you supposed to be normal ? You will appreciate that without the answers to my questions I cannot fully

understand your letter."<sup>6</sup> Actually, these problems of identity, of motivation, of verification are genuine problems of our society and our literature.

Moreover, in the present state of our knowledge of psychology and the complexity and hidden layers of the human mind, how can anyone claim to know what motivates himself, let alone another human being? And, drama being an objective art, how can the dramatist be supposed to know everything about his characters? Hence, Pinter's rejection of the author's right to creep inside his characters and pretend to know everything about them. All he can do is to give a meticulously accurate account of the movements of the characters on the stage. Martin Esslin defends Pinter saying that he is searching for "a higher degree of realism in the theatre" and he "rejects the well-made play because it gives too much information about the background and motivation of each character. In real life we deal with people whose early history, family background or psychological motivation we do not know or we totally ignore. We are interested if we see them involved in a dramatic situation".<sup>7</sup> For Pinter "a character on the stage who can present no convincing argument or information as to his past experience, present aspirations, nor give a comprehensive analysis of his motives is as legitimate and as worthy of attention as one who, alarmingly, can do all these things".<sup>8</sup> In spite of this area of undefined and unknown mystery that surrounds his characters, Pinter invests them with a recognizable reality. His characters are not abstract figures like those of Beckett, nor are they grotesque marionettes like those of Ionesco.

In his search for "a higher degree of realism in the theatre" Pinter uses dialogue as a powerful technique. Like real-life conversation his characters talk in a repetitious, inconsequential, illogical and irrational manner. It resembles the speech of two people who do not give each other their undivided attention (such as the husband and wife of *The Birthday Party*) or two people one of whom thinks and responds more slowly than the other (as the opening dialogue between Davies and Aston in *The Caretaker*). Conventional characters listen to each other and then proceed on with their conversation. They talk in an unnatural manner. "Most real conversation", says Esslin, "is incoherent, illogical, ungrammatical and elliptical."<sup>9</sup> In spite of its concreteness and reality, Pinter's language is ambiguous. It is not that his characters are unable to communicate with each other like the characters of the modern Absurd drama but they avoid communication. Their dialogue represents "an instinctive evasion of communication" because the main confrontation is always between the man in the room and the man who invades it. They are afraid of exposing themselves to the menacing

world. Pinter himself stresses this unwillingness. He has been quoted as saying, "I feel that instead of any inability to communicate there is a deliberate evasion of communication. Communication itself between people is so frightening that rather than do that there is continual cross-talk, a continual talking about other things rather than what is at the root of their relationship."<sup>10</sup> That's the reason why we hear a lot about other things. Most of the time, says Pinter, people are "inexpressive, giving little away, unreliable, elusive, evasive, obstructive, unwilling. But it's out of these attributes that a language arises. A language...whereunder what is said, another thing is being said...The speech we hear is an indication of that we don't hear. It is a necessary avoidance, a violence, sly, anguished or mocking smokescreen which keeps the other in its place. When true silence falls we are still left with echo but are nearer nakedness. One way of looking at speech is to say it is a constant stratagem to cover nakedness."<sup>11</sup> Thus, Pinter's language serves a double purpose. It conceals as well as reveals. Edward's advice to the match-seller in *A Slight Ache* ("Get a good woman to stick to you. Never mind what the world says. Keep at it. Keep your shoulders to the wheel. It'll pay dividends.") conceals perhaps emptiness, insincerity, false confidence, but it reveals its hollowness. Meg's repetitions at the end of *The Birthday Party* that she was "the belle of the ball" hides her real feeling of the disastrous birthday party.

Since his people talk in a repetitious manner, 'repetition' has become a mannerism with Pinter's writing. But this device illuminates the mental processes of the characters. Each time he employs this device of repetition, he does so to serve a definite purpose. At the beginning of *The Birthday Party* Meg, having served Petey his cornflakes, asks :

Meg : Are they nice ?  
 Petey : Very nice.  
 Meg : I thought they'd be nice.

Again a few minutes later :

Meg : Were they nice ?  
 Petey : Very nice.

The repetition of the word 'nice' here loses its actual meaning but it indicates the emptiness of the characters' relationship with each other, the dullness of their lives, and yet their determination to go on making friendly conversation.

Again, this device of 'repetition' serves a completely different purpose in *The Caretaker*. Davies, talking about his ex-wife's sloven-

liness, mentions the saucepan in which he found some of her under-clothing :

"The pan for vegetable, it was. The vegetable pan...."

Here it is the inarticulate man's struggle to find the correct word.

Often, this 'repetition' shows a character's unpleasantness and disgust for his duty, like McCann in *The Birthday Party* :

"Let's finish and go. Let's get it over and go.

Get the thing done.

Let's finish the bloody thing. Let's get

the thing done and go !"

Davies in *The Caretaker* repeats the word "Blacks" to show his indignation and racial hatred for the Blacks.

Davies : Blacks ?

Aston : I don't see much of them.

Davies : Blacks, eh.

Again, in *The Collection* Harry's frequent repetition of humiliating words like "slum" and "slug" indicates the degree of Harry's obsession with Bill and his hatred of him.

Conversely, Pinter uses 'repetition' to show how a character gradually learns to accept a fact. This can be seen in the dialogue between Davies and Aston in *The Caretaker* after Davies is terrorised by Mick :

Davies : Who was that fellow ?

Aston : He's my brother.

Davies : Is he ? He is a bit of a joker, en'he ?

Aston : Uh.

Davies : Yes...he's a real joker.

Aston : He's got a sense of humour.

Davies : Yes, I noticed.

(Pause)

He's a real jocker, that lad, you can see that.

(Pause)

Aston : Yes, he tends...he tends to see the funny side of things.

Davies : Well, he's got a sense of humour, en'he ?

Aston : Yes.

Davies : Yes, you could tell that.

Here Davies's repetition of the same idea in the words "he's a joker", "a bit of a joker", "got a sense of humour" and "I noticed", "you can see", "you could tell" shows Davies's gradual realization and evaluation of the peculiarity in Mick's character.

Some other features of Pinter's use of language is his recurrent tautologies like—"He is old—Not young—No, I wouldn't call him young—Not youthful, certainly—Elderly, I'd say—I would call him old", and again in *The Caretaker* which is rather elliptical :

"..They weren't hallucinations, they..I used to get the feeling I could see things...very clearly..everything....was so clear....everything used to....everything used to get very quiet....everything got very quiet....all this....quiet....and....this clear sight....it was....but maybe I was wrong...."

These are some of Pinter's attempt to imitate the real language of real people where, indeed, we find longer pauses and more silences than are actually allowed by stage conventions. Pinter never imposes on his characters a false articulation, never forces "a character to speak where he could not speak, making him speak of what he could never speak".<sup>12</sup> He never makes them speak in rhetorics and well thought-out set speeches.

Pinter's characters are confronted with the crisis of adjustment to themselves which precedes their going out into the world to confront society. "Before you manage", Pinter says, "to adjust yourself to living alone in your room....you are not terribly fit and equipped to go out and fight the battles....".<sup>13</sup> Being at the crucial points of their lives they talk very cautiously and unwillingly. Because of their "instinctive evasion of communication" we often hear them talking with pauses.

Since communication between people is too alarming and the speech we hear "is a necessary avoidance, a violent, sly, anguished or mocking smokescreen" the only moment the characters can communicate too well is when they are silent. "I think", Pinter has said, "that we communicate only too well, in our silence, in what is unsaid, and that what takes place is continual evasion, desperate rearguard attempts to keep ourselves to ourselves. Communication is too alarming. To enter into someone else's life is too frightening. To disclose to others the poverty within us is too fearsome a possibility. I'm not suggesting that no character in a play can ever say what he in fact means. Not at all. I have found that there invariably does come a moment when this happens, where he says something, perhaps, which he has never said before. And where this happens, what he says is irrevocable, and can never be taken back."<sup>14</sup>

Thus, 'Silence' and 'Pause' form essential and integral parts of his use of language. In the beginning of *The Birthday Party* Meg call Petey

Meg : Is that you, Petey ?

(Pause)

Petey, is that you ?

(Pause)

Petey ?

Petey : What ?

Only after two pauses Petey responds to Meg. This exposition of the play exposes the hollowness of Meg's relationship with Petey.

In *The Homecoming*, when, at the end of Lenny's first narration, Ruth asks how he knew the girl was diseased, Lenny's reaction is :

Lenny : How did I know ?

(Pause)

I decided she was.

(Silence)

You and my brother are newly-weds, are you ?

The repetition of the question "How did I know" shows Lenny's surprise at Ruth's unexpected reaction. The 'pause' bridges the time he needs for thinking out the reply of the unexpected question. The 'silence' after his reply becomes necessary to change the subject. It marks the end of a section of the conversation and the beginning of another.

At the end of *The Collection*, after Bill's last version of the incident with Jame's wife, Stella, that nothing happened between them at all, Pinter indicates a 'long silence'. After this James leaves the house. The 'silence' as Harry and Bill remain sitting, facing each other. That 'silence' contains an image of despair and horror of their mutual dependence. As the light fades on that image, James is seen returning to his own home and confronting his wife :

James : You didn't do anything, did you ?

(Pause)

He wasn't in your room. You just talked about it, in the lounge.

(Pause)

That's the truth, isn't it ?

(Pause)

You just sat and talked about what you would do if you went to your room. That's what you did.

(Pause)

Didn't you ?

(Pause)

That's the truth....isn't it ?

(Stella looks at him, neither confirming nor denying. Her face is friendly, sympathetic.)

“Stella’s silence, her refusal to confirm or deny the story, is, in the true dramatic sense, *an action*, the pause which echoes each of James’s question *is a line of dialogue*, it is also a poetic image of one human being’s mystery and impenetrability for another.”<sup>15</sup>

Again, at the close of *The Caretaker*, Davies makes a last, desperate attempt to convince Aston of his right to stay with him :

Davies : But ... but ... look ... listen... listen here  
... I mean ...

(Aston turns back to the window.)

What am I going to do ?

(Pause)

What shall I do ?

(Pause)

Where am I going to go ?

(Pause)

If you want me to go ... I’ll go. You just  
say the word.

(Pause)

I’ll tell you what though ... them shoes ...  
them shoes you gave me ... they’re working  
out all right ... they’re all right. Maybe I  
could ... get down ...

(Aston remains still, his back to him, at  
the window.)

Listen ... If I ... got down ... if I was to ...  
get my papers ... would you ... would you  
let ... would ... if I got down ... and got  
my ...

(Long silence).

Davies pauses each time to see if his arguments have made any impression on Aston. But Aston remains still with his back to him. His ‘long silence’ is the last stroke for Davies. We know that Aston has already decided to expel him and he also knows it. This is theatrically effective. It may be stressed again that these characters’ pauses and silences do not show their inability to communicate with their fellow men but their unwillingness to do so.

These ‘pauses’ and ‘Silences’ are gestures which are as eloquent as words. One of the originalities of Pinter lies in his belief that gesture can be as eloquent as words. He has been encouraged by Antonin Artaud, who in *The Theatre and Its Double* propagated his theory of a “total theatre”. He wrote, “I make it my principle that words do not mean everything and that by their nature and defining

character, fixed once and for all, they arrest and paralyse thought instead of permitting it and fostering its development.”<sup>16</sup> He asks for a “concrete language” that is independent of speech, claiming that “there is a poetry of the senses as there is a poetry of language, and that this concrete physical language to which I refer is truly theatrical only to the degree that the thoughts it expresses are beyond the reach of the spoken language.”<sup>17</sup> Pinter directs his character to speak in a physical language when they express a deeper, inarticulate feeling. At the end of Act I of *The Birthday Party* Stanley

“hangs the drum around his neck, taps it gently with the sticks, then marches round the table, beating it regularly. MEG, pleased, watches him. Still beating it regularly, he begins to go round the table a second time. Halfway round the beat becomes erratic, uncontrolled. MEG expresses dismay. He arrives at her chair, banging the drum, his face and the drumbeat now savage and possessed.”

This dramatic device has been adopted by Osborne also. For the climax of a scene (end of Act II) he gives the following stage-direction to Helena and Jimmy Porter in *Look Back in Anger* :

“She slaps his face savagely. An expression of horror and disbelief floods his face. But it drains away and all that is left is pain. His hand goes upto his head, and a muffled cry of despair escapes him. Helena tears his hand away, and kisses him passionately, drawing him down beside her.”

Here the actors and actresses must try to catch the proper expression. They are to make a very effective use of the “physical language” to have the proper reaction in the audience.

But it is difficult to predict the reaction of the audience or the reader for that matter. For no fault of the author a virulent satire like *Gulliver's Travels* was considered for centuries as an adventure story to be read and enjoyed by the children. One of the reasons why *The Caretaker* was received so favourably is that “it is funny upto a point.” But Pinter says that “at the same time I did not intend it to be merely a laughable farce. If there had not been other issues at stake the play would not have been written. Audience reaction can't be regulated, and no one would want it to be ; nor is it easy to analyse. But where the comic and the tragic (for want of a better word) are closely interwoven, certain members of an audience will give emphasis to the comic as opposed to the other...”<sup>18</sup> The correct understanding of his plays demands an audience with new powers of perception because his plays progress not through a predetermined

subject and plot, but through an increasingly intense and revealing series of emotional states.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE PEASANT RESISTANCE  
MOVEMENTS IN THE SOUTH-WEST BENGAL  
PRESIDENCY INCLUDING ORISSA AND  
THE JUNGLE MAHALS (1751—1886)

\*TARA SANKAR PANIGRAHI, M.A.,

Research Scholar, P. G. Department of History,  
Sambalpur University, Jyoti Vihar.

The Battle of Plassey (1757) marked the beginning of the British Political supremacy in India. Under the British Rule the decadence of handicraft Industries and dependence of the people solely on the agriculture led to extreme poverty of the people.<sup>1</sup> "Upto the 18th Century, the economic condition of India was relatively advanced, and Indian methods of production and the Industrial and Commercial organisation could stand comparison with those in vogue in any other part of the world."<sup>2</sup> By the end of the 19th Century most of the indigenous industries had decayed while there was no sign of established industries on modern lines.<sup>3</sup> As a result of which the agrarian community became discontented against the Company's Government. This discontent took the shape of open revolts during the century which preceded the Mutiny of 1857-59.

The official records and letters of correspondence contain graphic picture of the agrarian revolts which took place after 1780. Disturbances broke out in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and other parts of India at different times in different places. These revolts gradually took the shape of a general protest against absolute landlordism in cash crop producing areas of east and central Bengal in the late 19th century. The growth of commercial agriculture which made a deep impact on the peasant economy making the economic condition of the agriculturists more deplorable also culminated in wide-spread disturbances in the country. These disturbances demonstrated the great power of peasant unionism which was fast developing in Bengal among certain sections of the peasantry and underlined the basically unstable nature of the landlord-tenant relationships during the seventh and eighth decades of the 19th Century and clearly pointed to the inadequacy of the existing laws which regulated these relationships. The sporadic outburst of agrarian disturbances in Bishnupur arising out of these causes on various

\* Written under the supervision of Dr. Binod S. Das, P. G. Dept. in History,  
Sambalpur University.

occasions might have had its impact on the outcome of Kol insurrection of Chhotanagpur (1831-32) and the Bhumij revolt of Jungle Mahals (1832-33).

The indiscriminate introduction of regulation bound Cornwallis system had its socio-political and economic impacts upon the Kols. The consequences of starting a complex legalistic administrative system into an undeveloped tribal area had its evil effects. It lies also in the ignorance of tribal language and lack of respect for tribal customs and traditions on the part of the British officers who administered it.<sup>3a</sup> Tribal society was already feeling the unhappy effects of the hinduization policy of the rulers and alienation of the tribal rajas and zamindars of the area when the British penetration began. Both impacts resulted in an influx of population which led eventually to the economic ruin of the people. The Kol insurrection of Chhotanagpur (1831-32) was, therefore, a crude form of protest against these changes and foreign influences. It was the outcome of frustration and anger of the tribal people against the new system of Government, by the people who either enforced them or took undue advantage of them. The risings of the tribal people were guilty of most heinous crimes, of banditry, murder and arson, because they knew no other method of effective social protest. A policy of vigorous repression was followed for the suppression of this insurrection. This unrest, however, opened the eyes of the Company's Government which ultimately led to some changes in the administration. In 1834, a new unit known as South-West Frontier Agency was created out of previously scattered districts. New regulations were introduced and a sympathetic administrative system was installed. Such paternalist Government was able to maintain peace there for some 20 years. Had that care for tribal sentiments and interests been maintained the agrarian disturbances of the second half of the 19th century might well have been avoided.

The Bhumij revolt of 1832-33 in the Jungle Mahals was also the result of oppression and exploitation of the tribal people at the hands of the more advanced population in the society. The loss of their ancestral property and their gradual enslavement prompted violent reaction which in course of time took the shape of open revolt.<sup>3b</sup> The introduction of Cornwallis system ignoring the tribal interests, needs and customs, the oppression of the amlas, introductions of British Courts and the shrewd darogahs and munsifs, introduction of regular toll upon all the villages were responsible for the outbreak of the Bhumiji Revolt of 1832-33. The Chiefs and Rajas of the Jungle Mahals played important part in introducing outsiders into their estates for their own interests. They themselves and the poor tribal people often suffered at the hands of these money-lenders or their agents.<sup>3c</sup>

The causes of the Bhumij Revolt lie in the pressure of outsiders upon the tribal life and the misguided action of the East India Company in subjecting the tribal people to the complex regulations of their revenue and Judicial administration. If the tribal people be placed under their chiefs or Sardar Ghatwals or had the British officials maintained a control of their subordinates such uprisings might well have been avoided. It is, however, difficult to establish any direct link with the Kol rebellion of Chhotanagpur and the Bhumij Revolt of Jungle Mahals.<sup>3d</sup> The Bhumij risings popularly known as Ganga-Narayan Hangama might be regarded as a natural continuation of the earlier resistance movements to the British system.

The agrarian disturbances in Pabna (1873) and other areas "were really the origin of the discussion and action which led to the enactment of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885."<sup>4</sup> Modern scholars who have studied some aspects of these movements in 19th century Bengal are not free from certain limitations. In most cases these studies are based on insufficient data. The Permanent Settlement 1793 gave birth to a section of new landlords who became rich by taking advantage of trends which were accelerated by the early British occupation of Bengal.<sup>5</sup> Armed with law<sup>6</sup> and powers to cancel all engagements entered into by former landlords with the ryots, these persons were most relentless in their demands.<sup>7</sup> They bought the estates as speculative investments and expected to make the most of the bargains having no such social background as the age-old Zamindars or the previous landlords. Their emergence as new land-owners added an element of social tension to the economic exploitation. This was obviously an important reason which made the relation of these new adventurers with their tenants unfriendly from the very outset.<sup>8</sup> They tried to rack-rent maximum profits out of the landed property which they bought by adopting extra-legal methods. They demanded enhanced rent, exacted unauthorised cesses and subjected the tenantry even to physical torture if their demands were not fulfilled.<sup>9</sup> The special correspondent of the 'Pioneer' remarked that "It is not high or enhanced rates the ryots object to ; they are willing to pay what would be considered rack-rent, if they were only assured that the rent would be all that they would have to pay and that the amount would be permanent for a length of time". The maximisation of rent was not the main cause of agrarian discontent at least in Pabna (1873) which P. Sinha and Benoy Chaudhury would like us to believe. We may consider the opinion of Kalyan Kumar Sengupta and assume that "The root of agrarian discontent was, however, the tendency of the landlords to tamper with the tenant's right of occupancy." This became evident when some of the leading landlords forcibly extorted

from the tenants Kabuliyaits (written engagements) which if enforced would have turned the occupancy ryots mere tenants at will. The Pabna revolt was a challenge against the efforts of the landlords to destroy the unity of the peasants. It clearly shows that dissatisfaction of the poor against the well-to-do took the garb of peasant revolt. The agrarian disturbance in Pabna in 1873, a great event in the history of Bengal in the 19th century had a spectacular impact on both official and non-official thinking in Bengal. The event shook contemporary Bengali society out of any complacency it might have had developed about agrarian matters.

We may compare this movement with the indigo peasant's revolt (from 1860 onwards). The latter unlike the former, was not a revolt of peasants alone. Numerous other groups, viz., the money-lenders (who were eliminated by the planters), small Zamindars (who were forced into giving planters leases of their estates) and others adversely affected by the indigo system, supported the peasants and joined the movement. They all joined hands to destroy the indigo system. Gradually with the growth of nationalist sentiment the indigo revolt pervaded the whole society. Despite the universality of rent enhancement as a rule it did not affect all the peasants in a similar way. The processes of rent enhancement, the quantum enhancement, the rank, status and number of peasants affected, etc., differed from place to place. The root cause of the movement arising out of the rent question was very narrow from the very beginning. Moreover, it ignored the interests of under-tenants, who constituted an important section of the agrarian community. This resistance movement arising out of rent-question did not always succeed in checking enhancement of rent (particularly in Government estates and in some Zamindari estates too). The revolt of the indigo peasants nearly destroyed the indigo industry in Bengal. The immediate result of the resistance movement was that the Zamindars became more cautious in future to enhance rent. They were now insistent on the exchange of written pattahs and Kabuliyaits. They wanted the terms of payment of rent and other dues stated in the written engagements. There was a general feeling everywhere for wider use of legal means by zamindars. Consequently, there was a considerable rise in the number of civil suits. The civil suits brought by the zamindars were not always meant for defending a just cause. It widened the distrust between the two classes. The movement also contributed to the process of differentiation in the peasantry in some cases. Since the law did not protect their under-tenants, the gap between what they paid to Zamindars and what they received from the under-tenants became widened. This additional income provided a means to the substantial peasants to cement their posi-

tion, by widening the scale of lending money to poor peasants and by buying the alienated holdings of the same. The indigo revolts instigated the British Government to enact laws for regulating the relations between the zamindars and the peasants. The introduction of the Rent Act of 1859, 1895 and the Tenancy Act VIII of 1885 were the outcome of these revolts which constituted a significant fact of the agrarian history of Bengal. The pressure resulted in these two significant historical events, the indigo revolt and the agrarian rising in the North Bengal district of Pabna, had its impact on the 19th century Agrarian Society of Bengal. It also influenced the contemporary Bengali thinking. Yet the 19th Century society with all its new pressures and changes was essentially a rural society.

From 1780 onwards there were sporadic outbursts of agrarian disturbances in different parts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa which were too numerous to mention. These disturbances were in many cases the combined resistance of peasants against the unfavourable attitude of the Government. The cultivation of the commercial crops (mainly poppy and indigo) had adverse consequences for the peasants. The cultivation of indigo universally provoked resistance. The anti-Government feeling, the hatred against the oppressive landlords and enhancement of rent, etc., all these factors were responsible for the discontent of the poor agrarian community. Their stiffest and united resistance sometimes became too difficult for the Government to cope with. Sometimes strongest military measures were adopted to restore law and order. These disturbances also influenced the then intellectuals of Bengal and eventually the British Government by enacting new laws and Regulations tried to pacify the agrarian community by upholding their interests and fulfilling their demands to some extent. But these enactments were also not free from limitations and are subject to criticism. These "laws effected some changes, of course, not by bridging the gulf between the old world and the new, but by widening it."

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I am indebted to Dr. Binod S. Das for his supervision over the thesis entitled "Economic History of Mallabhum (1751-1833)." This is the concluding chapter.

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## SOME PROBLEMS RALATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE ŠAILODBHAVAS OF KONGODA

Dr. N. K. SAHU, M.A., Ph. D., D.LITT.

### Origin :

The account of the origin of the Šailodbhavas has come down to us in legendary form graphically narrated in many copper plate grants issued by kings of this dynasty. We are told that when Kalinga was once in a state of anarchy an aboriginal chief named Pulindasena, who was famous among the people, worshipped Lord Svayambhu (the self-created Lord) to provide an illustrious monarch for protecting the country from chaos. The Lord granted his wish and created out of the rocks a luminous person who was named Šailodbhava.<sup>1</sup> The Cuttack Museum Charter states<sup>2</sup> "beyond the human vision, from a mass of rock came out the founder of the dynasty who appeared as the son of Deva and a second moon. Even cupid was surprised and terrified at the sight of his dignified physique." This legend showing the miraculous origin of the founder of the Šailodbhava dynasty is based on the time honoured Indian tradition that the Supreme Being created the king for the protection of the world. The divine origin of the king has been speculated by ancient Indian political philosophers like Kautilya<sup>3</sup> and Manu<sup>4</sup> and that has influenced the political and social life of India through ages.

The tradition regarding the origin of the Šailodbhavas may not, however, be dismissed as a piece of legend as it admits of historical analysis. Pulindasena who was a chieftain of the aboriginal Pulindas was very likely associated with the tribe described as Šailaja in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira.<sup>5</sup> According to this authority the Pulindas and the Šailajas were living side by side in the territory located to the south of the river Jumna and comprising the eastern half of the Deccan, contiguous to the land of the Mekalas, Kirātas, and Viṭakas. In this consideration both Kalinga and Trikalinga regions may be said to be the land of the Pulindas and the Šailajas.

It may be recalled here that the *Mahābhārata* also associates the Pulindas with the territory of Kalinga and in fact, the Pulinda army of the king of Kalinga were a great menace to the Pāṇḍavas in the Kurukṣetra battle.

The Pulindas had also ethnic relations with the Savaras and both these tribes are associated in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>6</sup> which describes them to be outside the pale of the Aryan civilisation. The *Matsya*<sup>7</sup> and

the *Vayu<sup>8</sup> Puranas* also describe the Savaras and the Pulindas as dwellers of the Deccan together with the Vaidarbhas and the Dañḍakas and the *Vāmana Purāṇa<sup>9</sup>* while giving the same account states that the Pulindas and the Vindhya Šailajas were living side by side with the Vaidarbhis (Vaidarbhas) and the Dañḍakas.

Like Pulindasena of the Šailodbhava charters a popular and powerful figure named Pulindaka appears in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* of Somadeva<sup>10</sup> as the Chief of the Savaras and the Pulindas. Both Pulindasena and Pulindaka seem to have belonged to the same class of tradition that was current in medieval India. The Šailodbhava charters make us believe that Pulindasena did not aspire after sovereignty for himself and that he worshipped Lord Svayambhu for protection of the people of Kalinga from anarchical condition. Lord Svayambhu was subsequently pleased to create out of the rocks a prince named Šailodbhava and if this prince be considered to be a historical person it may be said that he was a member of the Šailaja tribe inhabiting the rocky region of Kalinga. We have already pointed out the close association of the Pulinda and Šailaja tribes on the authority of Varāhamihira who flourished about 500 A. D. not far off the time of Pulindasena who may be ascribed almost to the same period.<sup>11</sup> Pulindasena apparently adopted Šailodbhava the account of whose origin and whose epithet 'Šilāsakalodbhedi' are but an allegorical suggestion of his coming out of a rocky region of Kalinga, probably centering round the mount Mahendra.<sup>12</sup>

The Mahendra mountain was always respected by the Šailodbhava kings and the Cuttack Museum Charter of Madhavavarman and the Bāṇapur Charter of Madhyamarāja declare this mountain not only as the incomparable dyke of the Eastern sea and a second mount Meru but also as a Kulagiri.<sup>13</sup> There is thus reason to believe that the Mahendra region was the cradle land of the Šailodbhavas.

Some affinities are found between the traditions regarding origin of the Šailodbhavas and that of the Gangas. The Šailodbhavas are said to have originated from 'Šilāsakala' and the Western Gangas are described to have come out of 'Khaṇḍita mahāśilāstambha'.<sup>14</sup> The word Šailodbhava is a synonym of the river Gaṅgā and kings of this family describe the river Sālimā (on whose bank was located the capital city of Kongoda) as the river goddess Ganga. On the basis of such similarities some scholars are led to believe that both these families come out of the same stock, and Hiralal is of the opinion that the Šailodbhavas and the Gangas are akin to each other, one being the patronymic and the other metronymic of the same family. Referring to the legend of Pulindasena that forms the preamble of the Šailodbhava charters the learned scholar remarks 'Bereft of the allegory, this would

signify that a brave mountaineer of Orissa married a Gangavamī lady and his son became the founder of a new dynasty.”<sup>15</sup> The opinion of Hiralal is, however, entirely speculative and there is nothing positive in the Šailodbhava and Ganga records to point out a matrimonial relation between the Gangas and a mountaineer family as a result of which the Šailodbhava dynasty came into being. The affinities between the Šailodbhavas and the Gangas are not so close as to warrant the theory of a common origin of these two families. The only reasonable conclusion is therefore that Pulindasena, the chief of the Savaras and Pulindas of Kalinga adopted a scion of the Šailaja family and called him Šailodbhava and the latter started the rule of a new dynasty named after him.

#### Chronology :

The chronology of the Šailodbhava kings requires careful study in view of the fact that the charters issued by them, excepting two early ones, are dated only in the regnal years and the date portion of some grants offer controversial readings. Some of the charters like the Bugudā Plates<sup>16</sup> of Mādhavarāman have signs of palimpsest while the scribes employed by these kings have used two types of scripts—the east Indian and the north Indian scripts—giving rise to confusion among modern scholars.

The two charters of the dynasty dated in known era are the Sumanḍala Copper plate Grant<sup>17</sup> of Dharmarāja I dated in Gupta year 250, i. e. A.D. 570 and the Ganjam Copper plate Grant<sup>18</sup> of Mādhavarāja II dated in Gupta year 300, i. e. A.D. 620. Dharmarāja of the Sumanḍala Plates declares himself as belonging to the Abhaya family and it has been pointed out that the Šailodbhavas have their family epithet ‘Bhita’ or ‘Abhīta’ conveying the sense of ‘Bhaya’ and ‘Abhaya’ respectively. This together with the location of the territory of Dharmarāja in modern Khallikote area of Ganjam district, leave no doubt in the fact that he was an early Šailodbhava king.

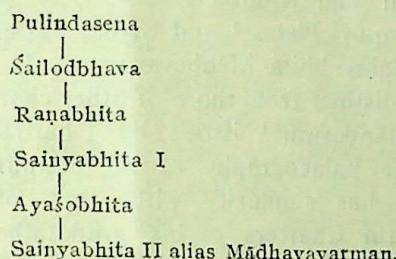
The Ganjam Grant of Mādhavarāja II dated in the Gupta year 300 presents three generations of kings as stated below :—

Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja I  
 |  
 Mahārāja Ayaśobhita I  
 |  
 Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja II

The Khurda Copper plates<sup>19</sup> of Mādhavarāja II which gives the alternative name of the king as Śrī Sainyabhīta declare that he was the grandson of Sainyabhīta and the son of Ayaśobhita. Thus Mādhavarāja I and his grandson Mādhavarāja II were known as

Sainyabhita I and Sainyabhita II respectively. These three kings must be placed after Dharmarāja I, the issuer of the Sumanḍala Grant dated in Gupta year 250 (570 A. D.).

The Buguḍā,<sup>20</sup> Puruṣottampur,<sup>21</sup> Puri<sup>22</sup> and Cuttack Museum Grants<sup>23</sup> of king Sainyabhita II and Mādhavaravarman presents the following genealogy :—



It may be pointed out that Sainyabhita I, Ayaśobhita I and Sainyabhita II of the above charters are respectively, identical with Sainyabhita I, Ayaśobhita and Sainyabhita II of the Khurda Copper plate Grant and with Mādhavarāja I, Ayasobhita and Mādhavarāja II of the Ganjam Charter. The apparent difference is that the Ganjam and the Khurda Grants belong to king Mādhavarāja while the Buguḍā, Puruṣottampur, Puri and Cuttack Museum Charters are issued by king Mādhavaravarman and both these kings, therefore, appear identical. But the problem of palaeography has given rise to serious controversy among scholars regarding the identification of Śainyabhita II alias Mādhavarāja II and Sainyabhita II alias Mādhavaravarman.

The Buguḍā Copper plates have created the greatest confusion and Kielhorn who edited the grant remarked that palaeographically the plates "cannot be earlier than about the 10th century A. D.", although he was also of the opinion that "these plates bore originally another inscription."<sup>25</sup> It appears to be a case of palimpsest and its characters offer a definite trend of development in comparison with those of other plates of Mādhavaravarman.

Earlier scholars like<sup>26</sup> Hultzsch<sup>27</sup> and Kielhorn<sup>28</sup> were of opinion that the king who issued the Ganjam and Khurda Plates was a remote ancestor of the king who issued the Buguḍā and Puri Charters. R. G. Basak<sup>29</sup> suggested that the issuer of the Ganjam and Khurda Plates was the grandfather of that of the Buguḍā and Puri Plates. R. C. Majumdar<sup>30</sup> made further specification by assigning the issuer of the Ganjam and Khurda Grants to cir. 615 A. D. and to that of the Buguḍā and Puri Plates to cir. 850 A. D. Thus although the contents of the Ganjam and Khurda Plates and of the Buguḍā and Puri

Plates reveal the probability of their issuers to be identical the palaeographical problems gave rise to a striking difference between them and made them appear far apart in time. The problem which was once considered irreconcilable was, however, satisfactorily solved by the discovery of the Cuttack Museum Grant of Sainyabhita Mādhavaravarman II. The preamble portion of this charter is the same as that of the Bugudā and Puri Grants while its characters closely resemble those of the Ganjam and Khurda Plates. The problem is further made clear by the Bānpur Plates<sup>30</sup> and Nivinā Plates<sup>31</sup> of Dharmarāja II, the grandson of Sainyabhita Mādhavaravarman II. The characters of these two grants are distinct from those of other charters like the Kondeddā,<sup>32</sup> Puri<sup>33</sup> and Chāndeswar<sup>34</sup> issued by Dharmarāja II. The noticeable fact is that the palaeography of the Bānpur and Nivinā Grants of Dharmarāja II, has similarity with that of Ganjam, Khurda and Cuttack Museum Charters of his grandfather Sainyabhita Mādhavaravarman II, while the charters of the other grants of Dharmarāja II resemble those of Bugudā and Puri Plates of Mādhavaravarman II. Thus although the charters of the Śailodbhava kings are palaeographically divided into two groups, it is not possible to argue that one group is earlier than the other. R. C. Majumdar seems to be still sticking to his old views and in his recent writing<sup>35</sup> on the history of the Śailodbhavas he gives expression to it as follows : "Some scholars think that the two groups of kings (i.e. the issuer of the Bugudā, Puri and Cuttack Museum Plates and his two ancestors on the one hand and that of the Ganjam and Khurda plates and his two ancestors on the other are identical. But there are two objections to this view. In the latter group Ayasobhita is said to have been a son of Sainyabhita but in the former he is said to be born in the family of that king. It is very doubtful whether a son of a king would be referred to, in an official record as born in his family. Secondly, the alphabets of the records of the former group of kings are distinctly latter. But recently one record of this family (the Cuttack Museum Plates) has come to light which is written in characters not very dissimilar to those used by the other group of kings. This has no doubt strengthened the case for the identification of the two groups of kings, but this point must still be regarded as uncertain and some scholars regard the former group as different from and reigning later than the latter."

The remarks of Majumdar are thus based on two points : (1) relation between Ayasobhita I and Sainyabhita Mādhavaravarman I and (2) the palaeographic difference between the Ganjam and the Khurda Plates on the one hand and the Bugudā and Puri Plates on the other. The first point has been well answered by D. C. Sircar<sup>36</sup> who suggests that "the difference between the description of the relation between Ayasobhita I and Sainyabhita Mādhavaravarman I in the two groups of

inscriptions was probably due to the fact that Ayasobhita was a scion of the Šailodbhava family, adopted as a son by his royal predecessor.” In order to substantiate his argument Sircar refers to the Rajatarangini<sup>37</sup> which speaks of a son as the descendant of his father and to the Naiṣadhiya<sup>38</sup> where Nala, the son of Virasena has been described as Virasena Kuladipa. He further cites inscriptions of the Chutu Satakarnis,<sup>39</sup> and of the Kādambas pointing out at the same time the Assam Plates<sup>40</sup> of Vallabharāja which refer to one Rayasideva, a son of Bhāskara as the frontal ornament of the kings in Bhaskara’s race.

The second point raised by Majumdar has been solved beyond doubt not only by the Cuttack Museum Charter of Mādhavaravarman II but also by the Bānpur and Nivinā Grants of Dharmarāja II as discussed above. Majumdar refers to Basak and Kielhorn as scholars, who regard the existence of two separate groups of Šailodbhava kings. But these scholars entertained such opinion long before the discovery of the Cuttack Museum Charter and no scholars writing after the publication of that charter are known to have subscribed to that view.

A copper plate inscription<sup>41</sup> discovered at Khandipadā Nuāpalli in Khallikote Taluq of Ganjam district refers to a ruler of Kongoda named Chharamparāja. This name does not occur in the chronological list furnished by the copper plate grants of Mādhavarāja II alias Mādhavaravarman Sainyabhita II. It may be pointed out that the name Chharamparāja was not a rare one during the period when the Šailodbhavas ruled over Kongoda. A Brāhmaṇa donee of the Ganjam grant of Mādhavarāja was known by the name Chharampa Swāmi while the Purohita of the Ganga king Devendravaman was called Chharampa Nandi.<sup>42</sup> Thus it is evident that this name was borne by some respectable persons of the time. The Nuāpalli Grant indicates that Chharamparāja was enjoying an independent status and was commanding over a number of feudatories. The characters of the grant resemble those of the Sumanḍala Plates of Dharmarāja on the one hand and of the Ganjam Grant of Mādhavarāja II on the other, and palaeographically it can be placed in between these two dated records.

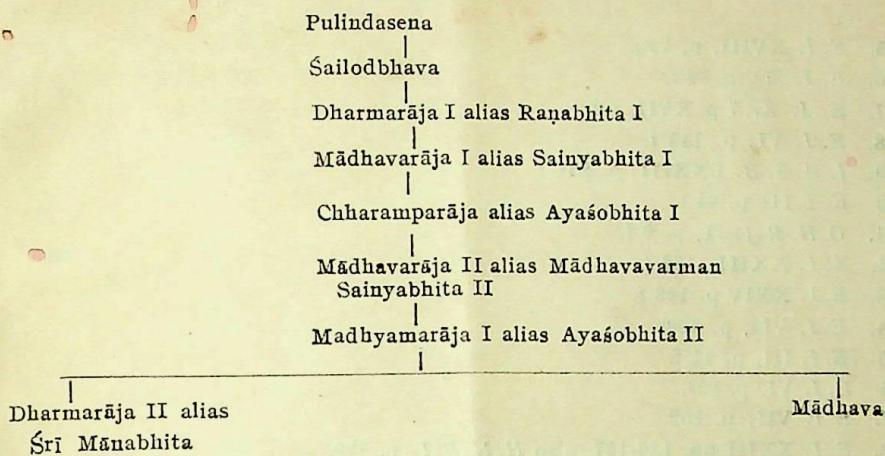
The style and expression of the Nuāpalli Plates indicate a clear transition from the Sumanḍala Plates of Dharmarāja I to the Ganjam Plates of Mādhavarāja II. All these three grants are written in prose but the Sumanḍala Grant exhibits simple and direct expressions, and the Nuāpalli attempts at more elaborate and ornate forms which culminates in the Ganjam Grant into a highly sophisticated and pedantic mode of language. Chharamparāja may be placed in between Dharmarāja I and Mādhavarāja II from historical consideration as well. Both Dharmarāja I and Mādhavarāja II were feudatories of paramount powers, the former of the Vigrahas and the latter of Śaśāṅka, whereas, Chharam-

parāja as pointed above owes allegiance to no such overlord. Evidently he comes into being. In the historic struggle between the Vigrahas of South Tosali and the Mudgalas of North Tosali, we find that the former were ousted from power by the latter sometime between 600 and 603 A. D. The Mudgalas were also not destined to continue long thereafter, as they were overwhelmed by the invasion of the Durjaya king Prithvi Mahārāja about 609 A. D. It was probably by this time that Chharamparāja assumed independent status in Kongoda. Thus not only from palaeographic and linguistic considerations but also from the standpoint of history, king Chharamparāja may be ascribed to the period preceding Mādhavarāj II, the feudatory of Śāsānka. It may be suggested that Chharamparāja was but another name of Ayaśobhita I, the father of Mādhavarāja II. Kings of the Śailodbhava family are known to have cognomens like Sainyabhita, Ayasobhita and Mānabhita ending in the expression 'bhita' which probably indicates their family surname. Besides these names, we find them using their regal names as Mādhavarāja, Madhyamarāja and Dharmarāja etc. It may be pointed out that Ayaśobhita II in the genealogy of the Śailodbhavas is known to us by his regal name Madhyamarāja. So in analogy of it, Ayśobhita I had also a regal name, which as suggested by us was Chharamparāja.

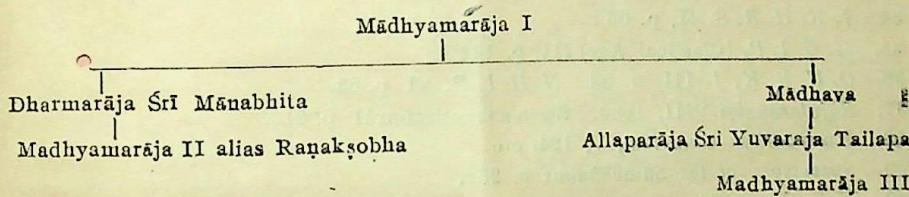
This discussion gives rise to possibility of identification of Raṇabhita, the grandfather of Ayaśobhita I with Dharmarāja I of the Sumanḍala Copper plate Inscription. It is not improbable that Raṇabhita flourished in 670 A. D. when his grandson was ruling early in the next century. Dharmarāja has, however, not mentioned his second name in his copper plate charter, but so also Mādhavarāja II who has remained silent about his other name (Sainyabhita) in his Ganjam Grant. Since all the Śailodbhava kings excepting those of the collateral branch are known to us both by their family names and their royal names, it is not unlikely that Raṇabhita which is a family name and Dharmarāja which is a royal name denote one ruler. This is all the more probable because the king bearing these two names is attributable to the same time and territory.

The genealogy of the Śailodbhava kings upto the time of Dharmarāja II may thus be presented as shown in page 143 :—

Dharmarāja II is known to have a brother named Mādhava with whom he had to fight for his succession to the throne. All the copper plate charters of Dharmarāja have referred to this family struggle which was interfered by king Tivaradeva of South Kosala on behalf of Mādhava. Dharmarāja who defeated both Mādhava and Tivaradeva was thus a contemporary of that famous Pāṇḍuvarmī monarch and may be ascribed to about 700 A. D.



The accounts of the later kings of this dynasty is known from the fragmentary Tekkali Copper plate Grant<sup>43</sup> and in the light of that their genealogy may be presented as follows :—



Allaparāja has been described in the Tekkali Grants as the son of the uncle (Paitṛvya) of Madhyamarāja, so he has been taken to be the son of Mādhava, the brother of Dharmarāja II.

#### R E F E R E N C E S

1. I.I. 13.14 of the Puruṣottampur Grant of Mādhavavarman.
2. I.I. 10.11 of the Cuttack Museum Grant of Mādhavavarman.
3. *Manu* VII 3.
4. *A. S. I.* 13.
5. *Bṛhat. Sam.* ed. Subrahmanya Sāstri, Vol. I.P. 173, Text. Ch. XVI.
6. Ait. Br. VII 8.
7. *Matsya*, 114, 46, 48.
8. *Vayu*, 45, 126.
9. *Vamana* Pu. 12, 49.
10. The Ocean of Story ed. Towney & Penzer, Vol. I, p. 136, Vol. II, p. 141.
11. See Infra.
12. See also A History of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 343.
13. See Vol. I Ch. II, p. 93.
14. See the preamble portion of the copper plate charters of Western Gangas, E.C. IX, p. 47.

15. *E. I.* XVIII, p. 290.
16. *E. I.* III, p. 43 f.
17. *E. I.* X, 7 p. XVII, 9 f.
18. *E. I.* VI, p. 143 f.
19. *J. A. S. B.* LXXIII, p. 284 f.
20. *E. I.* III p. 41 t.
21. *O. H. R. J.* II, p. 6 f.
22. *E. I.* XXIII, 182 f.
23. *E. I.* XXIV p. 148 f.
24. *E. I.* VII, p. 102.
25. *E. I.* III, p. 41 f.
26. *E. I.* VI, p. 124.
27. *E. I.* VII, p. 102.
28. *E. I.* XXIII pp. 126-127, also *H. N. E. I.* p. 179.
29. *J. A. H. R. S.* X. pp. 1—15.
30. *E. I.* XXIX, p. 38 f.
31. *E. I.* XXI, p. 38.
32. *E. I.* XIX, p. 261.
33. *J. B. O. R. S.* XVI, p. 178 f.
34. *J. K. H. R. S.* II, p. 65 f.
35. *H. C. I. P.* (Classical Age) III, p. 144 f.
36. *O. H. R. K. J.* III, p. 33. *N. H. I. P.* VI, p. 83.
37. *Rājatarangiṇi* VIII, 1083. Stein's translation II, p. 512.
38. *Naishadhiya Charitam*, V, 124. etc.
39. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas* p. 250.
40. *E. I.* V., p. 184.
41. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, II, p. 323 f.
42. Sidhāntam Grant (G. 195) *E. I.* XIII pp. 212-16.
43. *J. B. O. R. S.* IV, p. 161. f.



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